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Frontispiece

THE DIOCESE OF GIBRALTAR

A SKETCH OF
ITS HISTORY, WORK AND TASKS

BY
HENRY J. C. KNIGHT, D.D.
BISHOP OF GIBRALTAR

WITH MAP AND ILLUSTRATIONS



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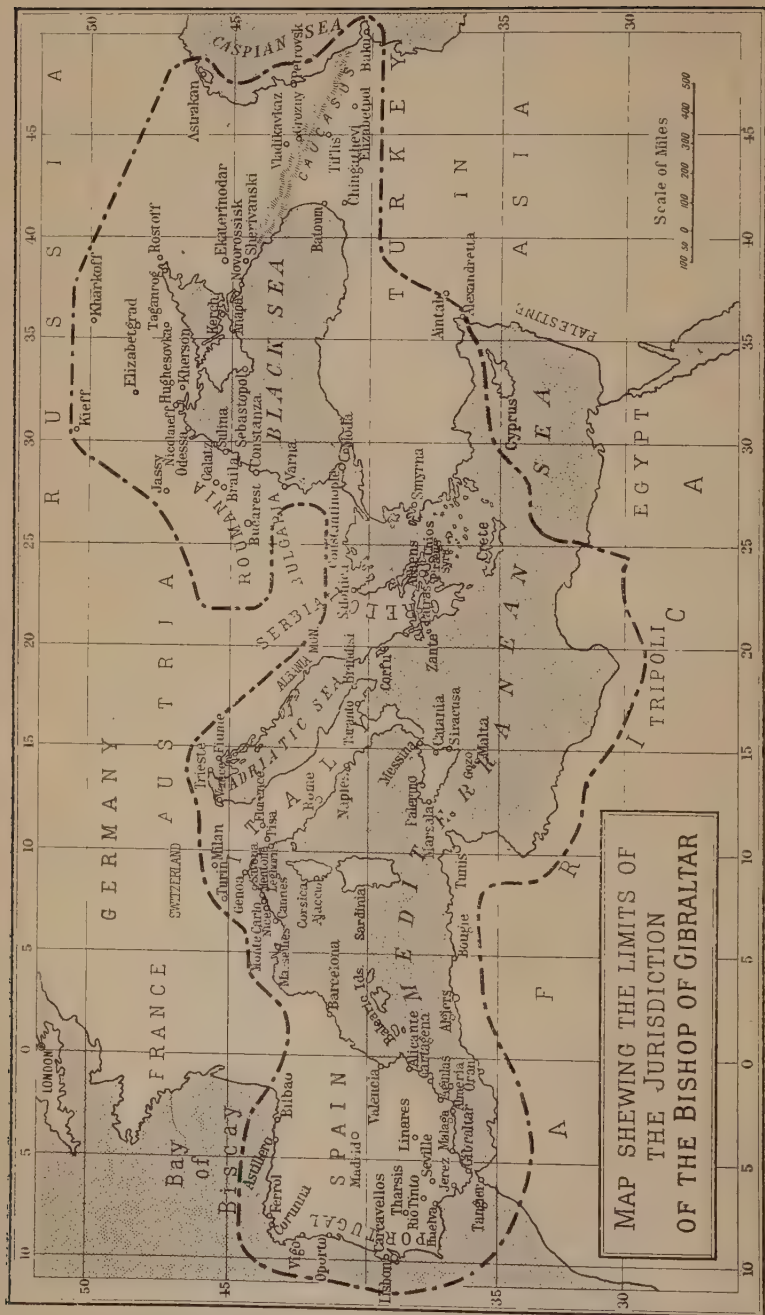
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TO
THE CLERGY AND LAITY OF THE
DIOCESE OF GIBRALTAR

WHO IN DIVERS LANDS AND SCENES BETWEEN THE ATLANTIC
AND THE CASPIAN REPRESENT THE CHURCH OF
ENGLAND AND THE BRITISH PEOPLE ; WHO HAVE OPENED
TO ME BOTH HEARTS AND HOMES ; WHOSE
HOSPITALITY, CONFIDENCE AND LOVE HAVE BEEN
A JOY, CONSOLATION AND ENCOURAGEMENT
DURING OUR SIX YEARS' WORK TOGETHER ; AND
WHO ARE MOST DEAR TO ME AS THE
FLOCK OF CHRIST.



INTRODUCTION

FROM Oporto and Lisbon on the Atlantic to Baku on the west shore of the Caspian is a distance by rail of over four thousand miles. Scattered over this vast tract of Southern Europe, on the shores of the Mediterranean and the Black Seas and in the Levant are communities of English people, some dating from the earlier part of the sixteenth century, some from yesterday. Varying greatly in numbers, occupation, character, and history, all are alike in this—loyalty to the home-country, and tenacious retention of distinctively English character, life, and religion. With similar colonies on the north coast of Africa from the frontier of Egypt to Tangier and our possessions of Gibraltar and Malta, they are now ecclesiastically under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Gibraltar, and form a diocese of persons, not of a geographical area.

These communities have a claim on the concern and interest of the English people, and in a unique way of English Churchmen. Their importance is out of all proportion to their actual numbers. It does not lie in the fact that for some of them their homes and business in life are cast in cities, scenes, and lands, the history and memories of which are for Europeans unequalled in wonder and significance. To live and work in Athens or Rome, Smyrna or Constantinople, Tunis-Carthage, Venice, Florence, Valletta, is indeed to dwell amid glories and marvels of the past, on stages whereon have been acted dramas and have moved figures shaping the highest and deepest life of Europe. All who dwell there, given knowledge and imagination which can recall the past and appreciate in some measure—for who can

do so adequately?—the life of peoples and individuals which has made what it is our world of to-day, religious and political, philosophical and artistic, are heirs, though remote, of the treasures of ages. But it is not these things that give to our British colonies of South Europe their claim to the thought of their countrymen. Their importance lies in other directions.

These settlements belong historically to the astonishing expansion of British mercantile enterprise which began in the age of the discovery of America. Hakluyt records that when he was chaplain in Paris (1583–1588), it was a matter of common remark that the English, though an island people, showed little venturesomeness in over-seas trade. The reproach was even then being rapidly removed, and the records which Hakluyt's life-long industry collected form the finest account of its passing. The establishment of our factories on the shores of the Mediterranean, in the Levant, in North America and in India, all belong to that awakening of latent national capacity, genius, and outlook, that movement of national energy, which if it came late, came to widen and endure.

Few in England to-day, and few of those who visit Southern France and Italy, the centre of this wide area, realize how old are many of our British trading settlements in Southern Europe, or know anything of their character and history, and of the way in which both materially and politically they have served and still serve the home country. Few also have any idea of their present-day variety and activity. Every one knows that there is much British shipping at Marseilles, a great grain trade with Southern Russia; that there are oil-wells at Maikop and Baku; that minerals and fruit are imported from Spain, and wine from Oporto, Marsala, and Jerez. But save in special mercantile circles, there is in such general and indefinite knowledge no sense of the English life involved. People in England know nothing of the very capable British communities engaged, for example, in Spain, in the iron-ore mines of Orcanera, Astillero, Covadonga, the lead and silver mines and huge smelting works of La Carolina and Linares, the copper-mines of Cerro Muriano and Rio Tinto, the sulphur-mines round Tharsis, the

shipbuilding yards of Ferrol and Cartagena, the esparto-grass depôts of Aguilas, the Newfoundland salt-fish depôts of Alicante. Or, to pass to the eastern part of the area under review, little or nothing is known of those engaged in the dredging and administration of the Danube at Sulina, or in the oil-fields of Roumania; in the manufacture of agricultural machinery at Elizabetgrad, in the vast dockyard of Nicolaieff, in the coal-field and iron-works at Hughesovka, in Russia; or in the oil-fields of Anapa and Sherivanski, Grozny, and Petrovsk, the copper-mine at Chingathevi, the manganese-mine at Chiaturi, the liquorice depôt at Elizabetpol, in the Caucasus. Not all who speak of our South-European trade realize that it means that thousands of British seamen are every day in South-European ports, some of the busiest of which are unknown even by name to the vast majority of our people at home—such as Savona and Galatz, Nicolaieff and Novorossisk.

Many of the colonies of English people thus engaged are settled communities, with English homes, traditions, churches, and burial grounds. Some, indeed, are in great cities—Lisbon and Oporto, Barcelona, Seville, Marseilles and Nice, Genoa, Turin, Milan and Naples, Smyrna, Constantinople, Odessa, Baku. But many are far “out of the way” and out of sight, long miles from a British Chaplain or British Consul-General, and live under “colonial” conditions as truly, though in Europe, as remote settlers in Canada or Australia.

But all are avenues and channels of British trade; and through them, great and small alike, long settled or temporary and tentative, it is ever throwing out, even if slowly, its roots and feelers. In all alike large British capital is invested, and great British interests involved.

These colonies are, however, something greater than arteries of trade. All alike, whether a great colony at Constantinople, or a group of five in the Cold Storage Company's employ at Tchertkovo, or a dozen accountants and clerks at Ekaterinodar, fill the responsible office of representatives of England and her people. For one Spaniard or Moor, Greek, Roumanian or Russian, Turk or Tartar, Georgian or Armenian, who reads a book on our country and

her sons and their ways, a thousand learn from these colonies living and working among them what "England" and "an Englishman" mean and stand for in national character, energy, and resourcefulness, honour and truth in trade, life, and word; what English homes, manners, and traditions are. It is a great function to fill in Europe—to be interpretative of our people, a book ever read and open before eyes which are keen, observant, and critical. In this mercantile and representative character lies the importance of these communities and groups of our people in matters political and commercial.

But for English Churchpeople there is a further and distinctive importance in these colonies, great and small alike. They dwell and move in lands in which the Roman Catholic or the Orthodox Eastern Churches are established. In the further East, from Constantinople to Baku, the Armenian with his agonized history, is ever before eye and mind. In North Africa and the East the population about them is predominantly or considerably Mohammedan. It is too often forgotten that, for example, in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia, Hughesovka in Russia, Sherivanski and Chingathevi, Grozny and Petrovsk, Smyrna, Constantinople, and Baku, British employers of labour, surveyors, engineers, merchants, themselves Anglican Christians, have much to do with adherents of Islam. And beside these, there are in this area great centres of Jewish life, notably at Tunis and Algiers, Smyrna and Constantinople, Bucarest, Odessa, Kieff. Our colonies in Southern Europe and North Africa dwell thus in close touch with the life of great Christian Churches, great non-Christian Faiths. The lines of demarcation are sharply drawn: they dwell among them, but everywhere it is clearly known that they are not of them. Occasionally a member of the English Church resident in Southern Europe seeks admission to the Roman Communion, but this is generally on grounds connected with trade or marriage. Thus these communities and settlers not only gain a penetrating acquaintance with the practical life of those Churches and Faiths, but also stand before them as embodiments of the faith and the Christian life of the Anglican Communion, of

the English people. Whether they like or desire it or not, whether they perform the office by open and thankful confession, or silently, reluctantly or even unconsciously, there is not the slightest doubt that they are representatives of the English Church, faith and worship—again a living book, ever open and ever read, studied, known. As such they have, indeed, a great part to play in interpreting over a wide area the Christian faith and life as our Church and people have received it; and the interpretation and presentation which they give sinks into the minds of the masses about them more widely and deeply than that of literature or of societies. There is no group of British colonies in the world which touches such a variety of faiths and creeds.

And it must not be taken that this presentation is only of individual and personal English religious life. The individual in the eyes of members of the Roman and Eastern Churches and of Mohammedans is subordinate to the whole Church of which he is a member. These our colonies represent the English Church. If they are indifferent to worship, careless of its dignity and the obligations which it imposes; if they are left for months and years without pastoral care, the Word preached, the Sacraments ministered: the English Church is judged thereby, and its claim to respect appraised—acknowledged or questioned. There should be no mistake here. These English colonies are, for good or ill, living embodiments of the life, the obligations, the ministry, the faith, the worship of the Church of England as fully as of individual and personal religion.

Herein lies the real interest and importance of all these British settlements, ancient or of yesterday, large or small, for Englishmen and English Churchmen to-day. It is far greater than their actual numbers might suggest. They are channels of British trade, representative embodiments of English character, life, and religion, and of the Church of England; and it is as such that they have a unique claim on the concern of the English Churchman.

How nobly these colonies have fulfilled and strive to fulfil this representative and interpretative duty can be known only by moving among them. I wish to avoid indiscriminate

and prejudiced eulogy, and am aware that I have not the intimate knowledge of the conduct of business and commerce required to speak with authority of the standard of integrity and honour maintained. But I have learnt something of the prestige of the English name and word; and I have seen English energy and thoroughness, administrative capacity and courage, foresight and power of self-adaptation to new conditions in many a distant field. I have, however, had opportunities of seeing how astonishingly the standard of personal religion, generosity, sympathy with distress, and virile godliness, has been upheld; of knowing how the simplicity and truth of English religious life has been cherished; how in many a lonely colony worship has been maintained when clerical ministrations have been denied, with a self-reliance developed by circumstances, and characterized by an English layman's modesty; how churches have been built and cared for and chaplaincies supported by communities, families, and individuals, as an integral and necessary element in truly English life. I have learnt, too, how deep is the attachment to the Mother Church, and what the value set on her ministrations—the more striking because of the amazing neglect under which for decades many have lain. I have more often than I can say felt that the honour of England in such matters is safe indeed in the keeping of these colonies.

From the earliest days of their history our communities in Southern Europe and the Levant have recognized the need of spiritual ministration in their life. Whether the English Church has seen the importance of supplying to them the manifold grace of God, and of stablishing them in the faith of their fathers and the order of their Church, the pages of this book will show. The sense of the obligation resting on the Mother Church to minister to our colonies, her own sons and daughters, grace and knowledge has grown but slowly, and has had, in the face of a materialism which permeated all life, a hard struggle to make itself acknowledged and effective. For centuries these communities were under the spiritual supervision and care of the Bishops of London—a supervision and a care for the most part but nominal and

inefficient, and too little calculated to promote a spirit of distinctive Churchmanship or of value of corporate life. The new concern for the spiritual and Church life of our growing colonies throughout the world which marked the earlier part of the last century led to the establishment of the Bishopric of Gibraltar, charged with the care of these colonies of South Europe, and also with the duty of representing the Church of England in these regions as a Church, and in particular of advancing those friendly relations and that mutual understanding between our Church and the Orthodox Churches of the East which had been slowly growing for two centuries and a half, and which, under God's blessing, have made such marked progress in recent years. It is a matter for profound regret that the Bishopric was left for years after its establishment coldly to itself, with no attempt made to foster its infant life by supplies of clergy and funds from home, and that too much of the aid given in latter years has been given to particular congregations and directed to extending the influence of societies centred and administered in England, and unable to consider or indeed to know the needs of the wide jurisdiction, rather than to the diocese as a diocese and for the developing of its maturity, internal power, and consciousness of dignity and responsibility.

The Diocese of Gibraltar—if it may be allowed to use the term for the body of clergy and congregations under the jurisdiction of the Bishop—is thus a Colonial one, bearing a distinctively representative and interpretative character, and a peculiar duty of reconciliation; and from its birth it has never been charged with and has never attempted either proselytism or interference with the acknowledged jurisdiction of other Christian Churches. The establishment of the Bishopric and its maintenance has from the first enjoyed the clear approval of the whole Church of England. The establishment was indeed the measure necessarily taken by our Church to minister to her own children under altogether exceptional and unprecedented conditions.

Some have imagined that the action of our Church in ministering to these her children in South Europe by her own clergy and in her own churches, and in placing clergy,

congregations, and churches under a Bishop consecrated for such a charge, is an act of "intrusion" into the jurisdiction of other Churches and Bishops, and that such "intrusion" is contrary to the fundamental principles of the Church Catholic. But intrusion here there is none. To regard this action of our Church as intrusive is to close the eyes to the facts under which we have to live. "Church Organization is an accommodation of the Kingdom of God to the conditions of space. In becoming local it naturally loses something of its ideal character. . . . As system grows, so grows the danger of being in love with system : of treating it as an end in itself, and of confusing the Church with the conditions of the Church on earth. . . . We cannot now treat a map of the world as if it were divided into Dioceses coloured red, blue and yellow, according to the extent of the jurisdiction of the Bishops who preside over different sees. The different Christian communions must in some degree overlap one another, and in some places (as at Jerusalem) there may, without offence, be several Bishops claiming the allegiance of the members of these communions, and not of the whole Christian population. But where full inter-communion is unfortunately impossible, a certain comity and reasonableness of action are to be kept steadily in view." * "A great deal of the loose (or rather rigorist) language," wrote Bishop Collins,† "which is current upon this point is at once indefensible and ridiculous. People talk as if whole regions had been, or could be, formally 'taken over' by Churches in the way in which parts of Africa have been taken over by the great Powers, so that henceforth any 'intrusion' into such regions on the part of another Church is of the nature of an 'unfriendly act.' But the real truth of the matter is that ecclesiastical jurisdiction is primarily personal and not geographical. It has to do primarily not with regions, but with such individuals as are subject to the particular jurisdiction ; and it is only for purposes of obvious and necessary convenience that these individuals are marked out as being

* Bishop John Wordsworth, *The Ministry of Grace*, pp. 143, 177.

† *The Anglican Communion*, Pan-Anglican Papers, No. 6, S.P.C.K., 1907.

those who dwell within a particular region. . . . There is no infringement of ecclesiastical jurisdiction involved in the fact of (*e.g.*) Greeks, Roman Catholics, and Anglicans working in the same country (deplorable as such overlapping may be in other ways) any more than in their working on 'the same earth. This is gradually being recognized on all hands. It is true that some people still talk as if they believed in a kind of Monroe doctrine ; popular delusions die hard. But little by little the logic of facts is making the matter plain to everybody."

Even had the great Communions preserved full inter-communion, it would still be fitting and right that, for the complete instruction and edification of our own people living among nations of other tongues and customs of worship, our own clergy should minister to them, that they might hear in their own language, wherein they were born, the mighty works of God.* But conditions are not so happy. We are thankful, indeed, that the Spirit of God has preserved the Church of England from excommunicating the other great Communions. But we are not in communion with them ; and while at present mutual understanding and friendliness with the Eastern Church is steadily advancing, and that Church is willing to minister to our people in extreme necessities, the Roman Church withholds even this exercise of charity, and refuses all ministrations save on the condition of repudiation of our Mother Church and joining the Church of Rome. Neither Church acknowledges responsibility for the children of our Church living in South Europe ; and so long as both find themselves unable to minister to them regularly the Sacraments and privileges of the Church, it is an act of necessity and bounden duty incumbent on the Church of England to serve her own children and have them in her keeping, and it is consistent with acknowledged principle ; and the normal way of doing this is through a Bishop and his clergy. There is no intrusion here ; and the Eastern Church perfectly understands our action, claiming for herself and exercising the same liberty of action, and does

* Cf. Bishop Sandford's Pastoral Letter, 1878, p. 20.

not interpret it in any way as unfriendly. Of this the following pages will furnish full evidence, if evidence be required.

There are, however, still some who base Catholicity upon geographical accidents, and from this position challenge the action of our Church in this matter. These have to face the Cyprianic maxim, *Episcopatus unus est, cuius a singulis in solidum pars tenetur*—*The Episcopate is one, and all Bishops are full partners in it, with joint and several responsibility**—and its underlying principle. That general principle is that all Bishops are equal, and all have a share in the concerns of the whole Church. The words and their principle are judged by such an authority as the late Bishop Wordsworth of Salisbury to justify a Bishop in grave emergencies in acting in other Dioceses than his own “in cases where he has reason to believe that the general approval of the Church will follow what he has done, not when he acts in an arbitrary and singular manner.” It is difficult to imagine a clearer case for such action than that created by the conditions of our English Church people abroad, for without it they lack the ordinary ministrations of the Church which are the heritage of all her members, save on terms inconsistent with continued loyalty to the Church of England. If St. Athanasius, returning from exile in Arian days, made no scruple (as Bingham says) to ordain in several cities as he went along, although they were not in his own diocese, and St. Anselm, in travelling on the Continent, confirmed children brought to him,† the Church of England has surely full right to commission a Bishop and clergy to minister to her own sons and daughters who would otherwise be sheep not having a shepherd.

All will acknowledge that, in this maternal care of her children and their enjoyment of it, it is both a duty and, as the Lambeth Conference of 1908 declared (*Res.* 66), “of the greatest importance that our representatives abroad, both clerical and lay, whilst holding firmly to our position, should show all Christian courtesy towards the Churches of the

* Cyprian, *De Unitate*, 5. See Bishop J. Wordsworth, *The Ministry of Grace*, pp. 173 ff. See also *infra*, pp. 169 ff.

† Bingham, *Aut.* II., 5, § 3, *q.v.*; Socrates, *H. E.*, ii. 24; Wordsworth, *op. cit.*, pp. 174 ff.; R. W. Church, *St. Anselm*, p. 272.

lands in which they reside and towards their ecclesiastical authorities." And as we may be profoundly thankful that our Church has been guarded against excommunicating the Eastern and Roman Churches, so we may be equally thankful that in her care for her members in South Europe she has been guided to observe that "comity and reasonableness of action" which Bishop J. Wordsworth declared should be kept steadily in view. "Organized proselytism among Christian Churches," wrote Bishop Collins,* "is an 'unfriendly act'; Christian courtesy dictates a proper consideration and due deference among Churches as among individuals;" and not only has "organized proselytism" been markedly absent from the spirit of our communities from their earliest days, but it has been, and is the settled purpose of the Bishopric of Gibraltar to confine its ministrations entirely to our own people in accordance with its clear commission, and accordingly to abstain from proselytism, direct or indirect, and from all action liable to be so interpreted; from anything of the nature of an "Anglican Mission" in the Eastern or Roman Churches; and to disclaim and repress all attempts to detach members of those Churches from the Communion of their baptism. This it is hoped the following pages, and in particular the account of Bishop Sandford's long and noble episcopate, most amply prove. And this purpose, in no way to infringe the jurisdiction of other Christian Bishops over their flocks, has been followed with increasing clearness and fixity, in spite of much pressure both from England and on the Continent, a growing sense of the need of reform in both the great sister Communion, and frequent invitations and prayers to depart from it. But we in the Diocese of Gibraltar feel that the very intensity with which we resent and protest against the Roman Catholic claims and propaganda must be a measure of the firmness with which we set our face against similar or retaliatory action, and that we live under the great law, *Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye also unto them.*

While this determination lasts, and this clear line of action is maintained, no member of the Church of England need

* *The Anglican Communion*, p. 9.

have any misgiving of the rightfulness of her action in South Europe ; and on all her children, to whom she offers there her ministration of the Word and Sacraments, rests the duty and the blessing of receiving it, with grateful and quiet hearts, at her hands and hers alone, or those of Churches in communion with her.

In this book I have tried to sketch the history of the Diocese ; to trace the main features of the life of the colonies under review as communities of the Church of England widely scattered and long neglected ; the steps by which since the establishment of the Bishopric they have slowly advanced in Church Order and organized Diocesan life, coherence, and mutual service. I have tried to show also the attitude adopted by the Bishopric and Diocese towards both the Eastern and Roman Communions, and towards various reforming movements, especially those aiming at reforms in the Church of Rome. And lastly, I have wished to give an idea of what lies before the Diocese in its task of ministering to all classes of communities—a task which it will appear has yet to be met when the many small colonies scattered between the Atlantic and the Caspian, as yet inadequately shepherded, and the vast number of British seamen frequenting the ports in this vast area is borne in mind. That so much has been done is due, under God's blessing, to the deep and long-standing religious character of our larger colonies, and the generosity of those newer communities which have grown up in the Riviera and Italy since the formation of the Diocese.

But my pages are little more than a first sketch. Records available have been few, scanty, and difficult to get at ; and the life of a Bishop of Gibraltar is not one that makes easy the task of a chronicler or student of research. The materials and information here put together have been collected in intervals spread over six years between, and even during long journeys, and in the midst of the never-ceasing routine duties of a colonial bishop ; and I am aware that my sketch will call for, and I trust it may receive, real indulgence and consideration. It has not been possible to relate the history of particular chaplaincies or colonies, or, as I should have liked to do, to

dwell on contributions made to spiritual life and work within the limits of the jurisdiction by many noble-hearted and unselfish laymen and clergy. I must perforce leave to others the happy labour of gathering from works of travel, biographies, consular annals, and indeed local Church records much that will illustrate the religious life of communities and the vicissitudes and progress of chaplaincies, and the correction of inadequacies and mistakes into which I have fallen. But without some knowledge of earlier days no one can rightly live and work as churchman or chaplain ; and I trust that these pages may at least promote among ourselves a serviceable acquaintance with our own character, tasks, and working as a Diocese ; may foster interest in our past and grateful appreciation of some who have passed to their rest ; and may create in the home Church a greater understanding of the Diocese and concern for it, and elicit more assistance than has been hitherto vouchsafed in ministering to the distant sons and daughters of English homes.

I am indebted to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for a complete set of the *Colonial Church Chronicle*, and for the use of the blocks of the illustrations of the Crimean Memorial Church at Constantinople, and of the Society's Seal ; to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for the use of a portrait of Bishop Tomlinson in the possession of the Society ; to the Reverend Dr. A. J. Mason, Canon of Canterbury, for permission to use his Memoir of Bishop Collins, and to Messrs. J. Russell and Sons for the use of a photograph of the Bishop ; to Mr. W. E. Gray for a photograph of the portrait of Bishop Sandford now in Christ Church, Oxford, and to the Very Reverend the Dean and the Body of Christ Church for permission to use it as an illustration ; and lastly and in particular to Mrs. E. G. Sandford, whose kindness has presented to the Diocese through me the Bishop's own complete series of his Pastoral Letters, without which it would have been impossible to try to do a belated justice to his long labours among us. To these and all others who have helped me I am sincerely grateful.

HY. G.

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THE DIOCESE OF GIBRALTAR

I

1500—1842

CHAPTER I

BRITISH MERCANTILE COMMUNITIES IN SOUTH EUROPE AND THE LEVANT

(1) *Early British trading settlements in Southern Europe and the Levant*

FOR practical purposes the historian of the Diocese of Gibraltar must start by a study of the "Principal Navigations" of Richard Hakluyt, and particularly of the part of that priceless and absorbingly interesting compilation which deals with English trade on the coasts of the Mediterranean and in South Russia in the sixteenth century. It is outside our present subject to touch these wonderful pages, save to refer to the evidence which they afford not only of early trade at a great number of ports, from Portugal to the Caspian, but also of settled English merchants and mercantile communities. Thus these records tell of Robert Thorne who "dwelt long in the citie of Sivil" before 1527; of trade with Cadiz (1550); of the "ordinarie and usuall," the "very usuall and much frequented trade" to Sicily, Crete, Chios, Cyprus, from 1511 to 1534, interrupted in 1550 and renewed, "happily reviving and much increasing", in 1575. So they incidentally tell of William Eyms, factor at Chios, 1533-1544, and his successor Robert Bye 1544-1552; of William Barret, factor of John Gresham, in Crete, 1535; of trade at Messina, 1550; of

a passport for trade at Malta granted by the Great Master of Malta in 1582; of English residents and Consul Richard Forster at Tripoli in Syria in 1583; of English traders, factors, and their houses at Tripoli in Africa, 1583; of resident merchants and a Consul in Patras, the Morea, Lepanto, and in Rhodes, 1586. It is worth special note that there was a Consul at Scio appointed by Henry VIII. as early as 1513.*

This renewal of the Levant trade in 1575 was doubtless much promoted by the foundation in 1581 of the Levant Company. The Company received notable privileges from the Crown, and Hakluyt preserves the letter of Elizabeth to the Emperors of Constantinople (1580) and Morocco (1581) in support of British trade. Mr. William Harebourne, factor for Sir Edward Osborne, became our first "Ambassadour or Agent" in the parts of Turkey 1582—a vigorous champion of the privileges granted to the English Merchants by the Emperor of Constantinople in 1580.

With the growing superiority of British sea-force from 1588 such colonies increased in number and wealth, and in settled residential character. This expansion of colonies and trade appears in the Charter granted to the Levant Company, December 14, 1605, conferring monopoly of trade in or to the Seigniory of Venice, the Gulf of Venice, the State of Ragousa, any other state or government within the Gulf of Venice, the dominions of the Grand Seignior (*i.e.* the Sultan of Turkey), any other port of the Levant or Mediterranean Seas, except Carthagena, Alicante, Denia, Valencia, Barcelona, Marseilles, Toulon, Genoa, Leghorn, Naples, Civita-Vecchia, Palermo, Messina, Malta, Minorca, Majorca, Corsica, and all other ports and places of trade upon the coasts of France, Spain, Tuscany, or any of them.†

Meanwhile, in the further East British trade with its accompaniment of resident communities had penetrated across Russia, following the great water-ways of the Dwina and the Volga. In 1552 was founded "The Mysterie and Companie of the Marchants Adventurers for the discoverie of Regions, Dominions, Islands, and places unknowen," later

* Anderson, i. p. 16.

† *Account of the Levant Company*, pp. 22, 23.

known as "The fellowship or Companie of English Merchants for the discovery of new trades," or more briefly the "Muscovie Company," of which in his old age Sebastian Cabot was first Governor. This company soon had its factories and resident families. In 1568 it had at Colmogro, Vologda, and Jeraslav lands, houses, offices, and stores. When in 1571 Moscow was burnt by the Crimean Tartars, there must have been a considerable English Colony, for 29 English, including women and children, perished by suffocation in their own houses. In 1565 the Company had "a barke or craer of 27 tunnes" on the Volga for trade down the great river and on the Caspian, "handsomly made after the English fashion;" but soon a still larger one of 60 tons or more was required for goods and victuals, and for safety. In about 1570 the Company's Agent, Mr. Geffrey Ducket, had discovered Baku and its oil trade. "Neere unto Bachu," he writes, "is a strange thing to behold. For there issueth out of the ground a marveilous quantitie of oile, which oile they fetch from the uttermost bounds of all Persia: it serveth all the countrey to burne in their houses. This oile is blacke, and is called Nefte: they used to cary it throughout all the countrey upon kine and asses, of which you shall oftentimes meet with foure or five hundred in a company. There is also by the said towne of Bachu another kind of oile which is white and very precious: and is supposed to be the same that here is called Petroleum." *

Thus were born those vigorous, far-sighted, adventurous, resolute, observant English mercantile communities in Southern Europe now under the spiritual care of the Bishopric of Gibraltar. Of their early character and enterprise the records of Hakluyt, of the great Companies named, and of the State must tell. Few visible local memorials of them remain; the chief and earliest are connected with burial. On the island of Halki in the Sea of Marmora there is still the tomb of Sir Edward Barton, the first resident Ambassador from England to Constantinople, who went out in 1581 and died in 1597. It was in good condition when seen by the late Sir Gerard

* H. 2, p. 132.

Lowther, our Ambassador. In the Embassy Chapel at Constantinople is treasured a headstone, inscribed

REV. THOMAS KING (CANTAB.)
ENGLISH PASTOR AT CONSTANTINOPLE
DIED OCT. 15, 1618. AGED 35.
MOST FAITHFUL.

The great Palace of the Levant Company built in that city at a cost of £10,000 has vanished. At Tunis, in the garden of St. George's Church are two fine long, narrow tombstones with arabesque borders, bearing inscriptions in raised letters: the one,

IN MEMORIAM MRI
GULIELMI HAINES
MERCATORIS ANGLI
CI QUI OBIIT TUNISIIS
XIX DIE NOVEMBRIS MDCXLIX

the other,

DEPOSITUM CONSULIS
CAMPION OBIIT
PRIMO OCTOBRIS MDCLXI

Our English burial grounds began at an early date. Among the first is that at Leghorn (1640). The magnificent Factory House at Oporto, with its reception rooms, library, and hospitable spirit, built about 1756,* belongs to a later date; but it transmits the associations and camaraderie of the old Factory life, and serves to give to our Colony in that city its peculiar charm. The present Parsonage at Lisbon is said to be part of the old Factory there. It was only in 1890 that the old buildings of the Levant Company at Smyrna, with the almost historic Chapel, were demolished to meet modern Consular needs, to the great loss and distress of the community.

The chief monuments of those days are literary, and reference to them will be made later in connexion with the distinguished men of the Company to whom we owe them.

* Sellers, *Oporto New and Old*, pp. 66, 91.

(2) *The religious spirit of early English Mercantile Enterprise*

The mention of the grave of the "most faithful" young English Pastor at Constantinople, with its note of the grateful appreciation of his flock there, leads us to dwell on the deeply religious spirit of the mercantile expansion of England in the seventeenth century, and of provision made for the spiritual needs of our mercantile colonies.

Religion entered much into state and commercial life in that century. Witness the prayer which prefaces "the privileges graunted by the Emperour of Russia to the English Marchants" of the Muscovie Company, dated Sept. 22, 1567. "One only Strengthenener of all things, and God without beginning, which was before the world, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, our onely God in Trinitie, and maker of all things, whom we worship in all things, and in all places, the doer and fulfiller of all things, which is the perfect knowledge giver of the true God, our Lorde Jesus Christ, with the Comforter the holy Spirit, and thou which art the strengthener of our faith, keepe us together, and give us good health to preserve our Kingdome, thou giver of all good fruites, and helper of all Christian beleevvers."* That this prayer was not a mere fixed conventional preface to a State document is shown by the variation in the opening of a similar grant two years later, which runs: "One God everlasting, and without and before the beginning, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, the blessed Trinitie, our onely God, maker, and preserver of all things, and replenisher of all things everywhere, who by thy goodnesse doest cause men to love the giver of wisdome our onely Mediatour, and leader of us all unto blessed knowledge by the onely Sonne his word, our Lord Jesus Christ, holy and everlasting Spirit, and now in these our dayes teachest us to keepe Christianitie, and sufficest us to enjoy our kingdome to the happy commodity of our land, and wealth of our people, in despite of our enemies, and to our fame with our friends."†

* H. 2, p. 73.

† H. 2, pp. 85 f.

The presence of the religious spirit breaks out in all the records of our mercantile expansion. The first voyage of ships of the new Muscovy Company in 1553 is declared in the new Act for the corporation of the Company in 1566 to have been not only "for the honor and increase of the revenues of the Crowne, and the common utilitie of the whole Realme of England," but also "for the glory of God." * Practical care for the religious life of its servants was made by the new Company from the first. John Stafford, Minister, sailed on the "*Edward Bonaventure* of 160 tunnes," the largest of the three vessels which formed the fleet of 1553, as Chaplain to the combined body of officers, crews, and traders, numbering only 115 in all. He was apparently the same as "Master Richard Stafford, Minister," one of the twelve Counsellors appointed in this voyage.† The "Ordinances, Instructions, and Advertisements of and for the direction of this first voiage" contain these provisions:—

"12. Item, that no blaspheming of God, or detestable swearing be used in any ship, nor communication of ribaldrie, filthy tales, or ungodly talk to be suffered in the company of any ship, neither dicing, carding, tabling, nor other divelish games to be frequented. . . . These and all such like pestilences, and contagions of vices, and sinnes to be eschewed, and the offenders, once monished, and not reforming, to be punished at the discretion of the captaine and master, as appertaineth.

"13. Item, that morning and evening prayer, with other common services appointed by the King's Majestie, and lawes of this realme to be read and saide in every ship daily by the Minister in the Admirall (the *Bona Esperanza*, Admirall of the fleete, of 120 tunnes), and the marchant or some other person learned in other ships, and the Bible or paraphrases to be read devoutly and Christianly to God's honour, and for his grace to be obtained, and had by humble praier of the Navigants accordingly." ‡

It is remarkable that this last direction is ninety-one years earlier than the "Prayer particularly fitted for those who travail on the Sea" and the "Prayer in a Storm" put forth

* H. 2, p. 66.

† H. 1 pp., 241, 245.

‡ H. 1, p. 235.

in the Order of 1644, and 110 years earlier than our present "Forms of Prayer to be used at Sea," added to the Prayer Book in 1662. And the note then struck in 1552 was continued later less formally. In the Commission of the Company to Arthur Pet and Charles Jackman for the voyage of 1580 we read, "Doe you observe good order in your dayly service, and pray unto God, so shall you prosper the better;" * and in the Instructions to the Masters of a fleet of nine ships, June 1, 1582: "13. See that you serve God, abolish swearing and gaming, be carefull of fire and candles." † This solicitude frequently finds expression: "we pray God to blesse you with a lucky beginning, fortunate successe, and happily to end the same. Amen" ends the Commission to the party trading with Russia in 1588. ‡

This religious spirit and interest is reflected in the Reports despatches and narratives written to the Company, and in letters to friends of the traders themselves. Everything connected with religion attracts as much as openings for trade, custom, fashion, or geography. The state, worship, forms, rites and ceremonies, and the practice of religion in Russia and Persia are described from full and shrewd observation. The presence of a Christian Georgian prince at a Mohammedan Court in 1561, an Armenians' Christian burial-ground at Derbent in 1589, find notice. § To Company and friends alike frequent hints are given of personal religion and prayer. "I have sowed the seede," writes Richard Cheinie to his Company of his voyage into Persia of 1563, "and other men have gathered the harvest: I have travailed both by lande and by water full many a time with a sorrowfull heart. But ever my prayer was to God to deliver mee out of these miseries which I suffered for your service among those heathen people." || "I shall willingly do my best, putting my trust in God that he will send me well to speed in this journey. God give me a good houre and well to speed with a mery heart in returning againe," writes Arthur Edwards to the Company on the eve of his perilous journey to Casbin,

* H. 2, p. 205. † H. 2, p. 247. ‡ H. 2, p. 97.

§ H. 2, pp. 22, 187.

|| H. p. 2, 32.

April 26, 1566.* After his safe return, he writes (August 8, 1566) from the town of Shamaki in Media, "Praysed bee God who hath wrought with me and for me in all my doings. . . . God graunt me in health to see your worships, for I have had a carefull travell, with many a sorrowfull day and unquiet sleepes. Neither had I the company of one English person, to whom sometimes I might have eased my pensive heart, as God well knoweth who hath delivered me from mine enemies. Thus almightie God graunt you in health and wealth long to live."† There was no disguising of their religion. "That valiant, wise, and personable gentleman," as Hakluyt calls him,‡ Antonie Jenkinson, to whom Mahomet was "a false filthie prophet," in his interview in 1561 with the Sophie, the Shaw Thamas, at Casbin, reports to his Company that the Shah "reasoned much of religion with mee," and that he was not ashamed to confess that he was "neither unbeleever nor Mahometan but a Christian," even though it cost him the opening for trade. "Doest thou beleeeve so? said the Sophie unto me. Yea, that I do, said I. Oh thou unbeleever, said he, we have no need to have friendship with the unbeleevors, and so willed me to depart. I being glad thereof did reverence and went my way."§

There was a keen, shrewd sense that the character of the merchants affected the prospects of trade. "Your worships," wrote Richard Cheinie to the Company, "must send such men as are no riotous livers, nor drunkards. For if such men goe, it will be to your dishonour and great hinderance, as appeared by experience the yeere 1565, whenas Richard Johnson went to Persia, whose journey had bene better stayed than set forward. For whereas before wee had the name among those heathen people to be such marchants as they thought none like in all respects, his vicious living there hath made us to be compted worse than the Russes. Againe, if such men travaile in your affaires, you shall never know what gaine is to be gotten. For how can such men imploy themselves to seeke the trade, that are inclined to such

* H. 2, pp. 38, 39.

† H. 2, p. 49.

‡ Preface to 2nd Edn. of *Principal Navigations*, 1598.

§ H. 2, pp. 21, 22.

vices? or howe can God prosper them in your affaires? But when a trade is established by wise and discreet men, then wil it be for your worships to traffique there, and not before: for a voiage or market made evil at the first is the occasion that your worships shal never understand what gaine is to be gotten thereby hereafter."* Testimony to the good name borne by the English traders finds a place in a letter dictated by Lionel Plumptree to the Company in 1574, giving an account of the fifth voyage into Persia. "One thing somewhat strange I thought good in this place to remember, that whereas hee (the Shaugh) purposed to send a great summe of money to Mecca in Arabia, for an offering to Mahomet their prophet, he would not send any money or coyne of his owne, but sent to the English merchants to exchange his coyne for theirs, according to the value of it, yeelding this reason for the same, that the money of the merchants was gotten by good meanes, and with good consciences, and was therefore woorthie to be made for an oblation to their holy prophet, but his owne money was rather gotten by fraud, oppression and dishonest means, and therefore not fit to serve for so holie a use."†

But the religious element in the spirit of English mercantile enterprise is even more strikingly shown in the missionary anticipations based on it. While Richard Hakluyt himself expected that trade and discovery would turn to "the infinite wealth and honour of our Countrey, to the honest employment of many thousands of our idle people, to the great comfort and rejoycing of our friends, to the terror, daunting and confusion of our foes," as he writes in the *Epistle Dedicatorie* of 1598, he could also write in his first *Epistle Dedicatorie* of 1589 of our intercourse with Eastern peoples as a "pledge of God's further favour both unto us and them: to them especially, unto whose doores I doubt not in time shalbe by us caried the incomparable treasure of the trueth of Christianity, and of the Gospell, while we use and exercise common trade with their marchants."‡

* H. 2, pp. 32 f.

† H. 2, p. 121.

‡ H. 1, pp. 4, 18.

The earlier attempts at American colonization were marked by careful concern for the heathen natives as well as for the spiritual welfare of the adventurers. To Frobisher's third, and last, expedition of 1578 there was added by Her Majesty's Council "Maister Wolfall, a learned man, to be their Minister and Preacher. He being well seated and settled at home, with a good and large living, having a good honest woman to wife, and very towardly children, being of good reputation among the best, refused not to take in hand this painful voyage, for the onely care he had to save soules, and to reforme those Infidels if it were possible to Christianitie." On landing he "preached a godly sermon, which being ended, he celebrated a Communion upon the land, at the partaking whereof was the Captaine of the *Anne Francis*, and many other Gentlemen and Souldiers, Mariners, and Miners with him. The celebration of the divine mystery was the first signe, seale, and confirmation of Christs name, death, and passion ever known in these quarters. The said M. Wolfall made sermons, and celebrated the Communion at sundry other times, in severall and sundry ships, because the whole company could never meet together at any one place." *

Sir George Peckham, Knight, the "chiefe Adventurer and furtherer" of Sir Humphrey Gilbert's voyage to Newfoundland in 1583 regarded Christopher Columbus as "the first instrument to manifest the great glory and mercie of Almighty God in planting the Christian faith, in those so long unknown regions," and wrote that the "sequele" of his discovery of America "hath since awaked out of dreames thousands of soules to know their Creator, being thereof before that time altogether ignorant." To Peckham it was "to be lamented that these poore Pagans, so long living in ignorance and idolatry, and in sort thirsting after Christianity, that our hearts are so hardened, that fewe or none can be found which will put to their helping hands, and apply themselves to the relieving of the miserable and wretched estate of these sillie soules." He regarded Gilbert's voyage as for trade "commodious to the whole Realme in generall, profitable to the adventurers in particular, beneficiall to the

* H. 5, pp. 250 f. ; 265, f.

Savages, and lastly (which is most of all) A thing tending to the honour and glory of Almighty God. The use of trade and traffique (be it never so profitable) ought not to be preferred before the planting of Christian faith, without which Christian Religion can take no roote, be the Preachers never so carefull and diligent," and by "planting" Peckham means the peaceable and righteous establishment of trade. He hopes that "it shall fall out in prooffe, that the Savages shall have just cause to blesse the houre when this enterprise was undertaken. First and chiefly in respect of the most happy and gladsome tidings of the most glorious Gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whereby they may be brought from falshood to trueth, from darknesse to light, from the hie way of death to the path of life, from superstitious idolatrie to sincere Christianity, from the devill to Christ, from hell to heaven. And if in respect of all the commodities they can yeelde us (were they many moe) that they should but receive this onely benefit of Christianity, they were more than fully recompenced." Peckham held that "by Christian dutie we stand bound chiefly to further all such acts as do tend to encreasing of the true flock of Christ." To this missionary-hearted layman trade and discovery are "gratefull in the sight of our Saviour Christ, and tending to the honour and glory of the Trinitie. Bee of good cheere therefore," he continues, "for he that cannot erre hath sayd: That before the ende of the world, his word shall bee preached to all nations. Which good worke I trust is reserved for our nation to accomplish in these parts: Wherefore my deere countrey-men, be not dismayed; for the power of God is nothing diminished, nor the love that he hath to the preaching and planting of the Gospell any whit abated." *

And Peckham was not alone. At the same time Mr. Edward Haie, "gentleman, and principall actour in the same voyage" of 1583, "who alone continued until the end," in his account of it, writes that had the discoveries of John Cabot and his son Sebastian been followed up, "the seed of Christian religion had bene sowed amongst those Pagans, which by this time might have brought foorth a most plentifull

* H. 6, pp. 46, f. ; 49 ; 68 ; 77, f.

harvest and copious congregation of Christians ; which must be the chiefe intent of such as shall make any attempt that way : or els whatsoever is builded upon other foundation shall never obtaine happy successe nor continuance"—a truly remarkable presentation of a foundation of mercantile prosperity. To Haie, if a man's motives in participating in trade expansion "be derived from a vertuous and heroycall mind, preferring chiefly the honour of God, compassion of poore infidels captived by the devill, tyrannizing in most woonderfull and dreadfull maner over their bodies and soules . . . the same may hope or rather confidently repose in the pre-ordinance of God that in this last age of the world (or likely never) the time is compleat of receiving also these Gentiles into his mercy, and that God will raise him an instrument to effect the same." *

It is certainly worth recording that Sir Walter Raleigh himself after he had made over to a company of merchants in London in 1588-9 all the rights and privileges conferred upon him by the Letters Patent which he had received from Elizabeth, not only continued to assist the company with his advice, but also gave them £100 "for the propagation of the Christian religion in Virginia," the first offering avowedly made by an Englishman for this purpose.† This colonial evangelization was rewarded by the first baptism of a native of Virginia, an Indian chief, which took place on the island of Roanoak on August 13, 1587. Even the Crown hoped for spiritual fruit from the colonies. James I. in an ordinance which accompanied the Charter for Virginia in 1606 showed that he did not regard them as mere trading outposts, desiring "that the true word and service of God be preached, planted and used not only in the Colonies but as much as might be among the savages bordering upon them, and this according to the rites and doctrines of the Church of England."‡ The missionary hope of these sixteenth-century mercantile adventurers is blazoned for ever in the well-known seal of the

* H. 6, pp. 2, 3.

† See Anderson, *The History of the Colonial Church*, I. 101 ; Oldys's *Life of Raleigh*, p. 118.

‡ See Cheetham, *Church History ; Modern Period*, p. 68.

Society for the Propagation of the Gospel which was adopted at the second meeting of the Society on July 8, 1701, and appears on the First Report of 1704, in which an old wood-cut of Raleigh's vessel at anchor (with the cross at the mast-



head and a clergyman of gigantic proportions standing in the bows with Bible in hand, while natives are running down to greet the vessel, and a scroll, inscribed "Transiens adjuvamus" floats in the sky), is combined with the seal of Massachusetts.*

* Wynne, *The Church in Greater Britain*, 1903, p. 26 ; *The Spiritual Expansion of the Empire* (S.P.G.), p. 6.

(3) *Religion in early British Communities of Southern Europe and the Levant; (a) in the Factories of the Levant Company; (b) in other colonies*

It was to be expected that this religious element thus characterizing organized British mercantile expansion both in the East and West, alike in those who directed it from England and those engaged in it abroad, would be found also in those concerned with our trade in the Mediterranean and the Levant. And so it is in the Association of Levant traders known as the Levant Company. We have already seen the evidence of resident British merchants in the Levant and Mediterranean early in the sixteenth century. There was a close connexion between those concerned in the discovery of trade here and in Russia; for example, Antony Jenkinson, who plays so large a part in the early history of the Muscovy Company had in 1553 advanced to the extremity of the Mediterranean and visited Aleppo. African pirates, however, Mohammedan rule, French and Venetian competition delayed awhile the organization of our trade in these parts. But the Licence for trade obtained by Elizabeth from the Ottoman Government in 1580, under which Mr. Harebourne and Sir Edward Barton served as Ambassadors, led to the grant of a perpetual Charter by James I. in 1605 to certain English merchants to be "one Fellowship and one Body Corporate and Politic, by the name of Governor and Company of Merchants of England trading to the Levant Seas," and Sir Thomas Glover was then sent out as Ambassador to watch over the interests of the merchants in Turkey. The Charter and its privileges were renewed and extended in 1643 and 1753. This Company was in character an association of merchants. It was not a Joint Stock Company. It laid no imposts on the trade of its members. Merchants could join of right on payment of a small sum (£20), and then trade entirely on their own account. The members taxed themselves for necessary expenses. Thus it championed and did not fetter liberty of trade; indeed it traded only in specified ports, as is shown by the charter of 1605 (see p. 2); and the name of a Turkey merchant became one of the most

respectable for opulence and character in the commercial world. These brief notes of this famous company are required if we would do justice to the chief early British trading settlements in South Europe.

From the very first the company had power to provide ministers at the expense of the members of the Corporation, and not by levy laid on the trading community on the spot. The choice of the ministers and their removal rested with the company. Thus it provided chaplains as well as officials and doctors for their factories at Constantinople, Smyrna, Aleppo—the most important mercantile establishment in the East in the early seventeenth century—Alexandria, Algiers, Patras, and elsewhere. At Smyrna it built a chapel (demolished only in 1890) and a house for the chaplain attached; and we may judge from this that the same was done elsewhere. If some of the clergy it employed is any indication of the calibre of the chaplains generally, of the religious character and intelligence of the trading settlements, and of the home appreciation of the importance of such ministry abroad, we are led to form a very high estimate on these points, and one which may well contribute to a justification of the famous dictum, current early in the seventeenth century, *stupor mundi clerus Anglicanus*.* The “most faithful” Thomas King, English Pastor at Constantinople, who died in 1618, was presumably their earliest chaplain there. Many of their chaplains were men of notable learning. Charles Robson, chaplain at Aleppo, 1628, was a Fellow of Queen’s College, Oxford. Edward Pococke, the orientalist, later Professor of Arabic at Oxford, was chaplain at Aleppo in 1630, and at Constantinople in 1637—a man distinguished not only for his vast learning, but for charity, pastoral zeal, and self-devotion in ministering to those stricken by plague in 1634. Thomas Smith, “Rabbi Smith,” chaplain at Constantinople 1668, was another Fellow of Queen’s College, Oxford; a collector of MSS. and a voluminous author. Robert Frampton,

* “About this time of King Charles the First’s reign it was justly said *stupor mundi clerus Anglicanus*.” So Thomas Plume, “*Life of Bishop Hacket*,” in Hacket’s “*Century of Sermons*.” I owe the reference to Mr. Alfred Rogers, of C.U. Library.

who fought as a Royalist on Hambledon Hill, and later was Bishop of Gloucester 1680-1691, when he was deprived as a Nonjuror, was chaplain at Aleppo 1655-1670. His successor was Robert Huntington, chaplain 1670-1681. He was a Fellow of Merton College and a student of research, who made, in the course of his travels in Samaria, Galilee, Cyprus, Palmyra, and Egypt, a valuable collection of MSS., now in the Bodleian. Later he became Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and Bishop of Raphoe. John Covell, chaplain at Constantinople 1670-1677, a Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, was the great authority of his day on the subject of the Greek Church. He became Master of Christ's in 1688. Henry Maundrell, chaplain at Aleppo 1695, was Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, and travelled to Jerusalem and Baalbec with fourteen of his flock, an account of which expedition he published at Oxford in 1703. He was greatly attached to his flock, and we shall refer later to a description he has left of it. Edmund Chishull was a Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. A college travelling exhibition enabled him to visit the East, and he was chaplain at Smyrna 1698-1702. It was he who discovered the mode of reading the *βουστροφηδόν* inscription on the Sigæan Marbles, and some of these, discovered by him, are now in the British Museum. His great literary work was his *Antiquitates Asiasticæ Christianam Æram antecedentes*, 1728. Thomas Shaw of Queen's College, Oxford, chaplain at Algiers about 1720, who travelled in Barbary and Egypt, was elected a Fellow of his college in his absence. He became famous as the author of *Shaw's Travels* and *Marmora Oxoniensia*, and was appointed in 1740 Principal of Edmund's Hall, and in 1741 Regius Professor of Greek. James Dallaway was chaplain and physician at Constantinople in 1794; and Philip Hunt, the indefatigable investigator of libraries in Constantinople and Mount Athos, and the explorer of the Troad and Assos, was his successor in 1799. Such a series of chaplains implies that the chaplaincies of the Company had attractions for able and scholarly clergy, and that the Company sought such men.

We must not stay to draw a picture of the moral and

religious life of the Factories. There are darker and brighter sides. On one hand there are pictures like that drawn by the Company about 1660: "the Factors were often severely re-proved for sensuality, gambling, Sabbath-breaking, neglect of public worship, and other irregularities of conduct." * On the other hand, there is that of Henry Maundrell of his flock at Aleppo at the close of the seventeenth century. Writing to Bishop Sprat of Rochester he confirms the praise given to them in England from "a most faithful and judicious hand—the excellent Bishop Frampton," the great improver of the rare temper of this society." "They still continue," he proceeds, "as that incomparable instructor left them—that is sober, pious, benevolent, devout in the offices of religion, in conversation innocently cheerful, given to no pleasures but such as are honest and manly, to no communications but such as the nicest ears need not be offended at, exhibiting in all their actions those best and truest signs of a Christian spirit, a sincere and cheerful union among themselves, a generous charity towards others, and a profound reverence for the Liturgy of the Church of England. It is our first employment every morning to solemnize the daily services of the Church, at which I am always sure to have a devout, a regular, and a full congregation." †

This attachment to the Church of England and her Services seems to be characteristic of English mercantile expansion from the first. Attention has been drawn to the custom of the Muscovy Company (p. 6). It rose from and was an evidence of that deep love of England and her settled ways that marked these early settlements, and inspires the patriotism which is so remarkable in those of to-day. Sir George Peckham relates that Sir Humphrey Gilbert on August 3, 1583, two days after his arrival at Newfoundland, gathered the whole body of colonists and signified to them that they were to live as in Crown Territories and to be governed in all things as nearly as possible in accordance with the laws of England. "And for to put the same in execution, presently he ordained and established three Lawes.

* *Account, etc.*, p. 52.

† *A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem*, 6th edn., 1740.

First, that Religion publicly exercised should be such, and none other, then is used in the Church of England."* If we may judge from the Factory at Smyrna in 1660, our Levant Colonies had little sympathy with new-fangled ways of the Commonwealth. In that year one John Broadgate, a Presbyterian minister, was sent out as chaplain. He brought with him a bale of copies of a Catechism, and called on the merchants to answer certain questions therein. He departed with his Catechism "in disgust" and "after much disgraceful altercation," as "the Factory refused to comply with his discipline."† The order of the Church of England was clearly well accepted and approved by all sober, peaceable and truly conscientious sons of the Church of England in Smyrna.

It may be asked whether there was in the Levant Company and its Factory-communities anything corresponding to the missionary out-look and effort which we have seen in the American mercantile expansion. Besides its anxiety for the spiritual welfare of the Factories, the Company consistently promoted charity and humanity, in the liberation of Christian captives and slaves, relief of distress, investigation into the causes of plague, and rendering noble services through its Agents in the ravages of plague, small-pox and famine. But the fact that the Levant Company Colonies lay among a population of which the heathen part belonged to Islam makes it not surprising that actual evangelization was far more difficult than among the Indians of Virginia. So far as the Greek Church was concerned, what these Colonies and the Company could promote was respect for the Church of England and knowledge of it, while they served as a means through which our Church could learn of the Greek Church, and increase knowledge of language, monuments, and history pertaining to Theology. To this latter end the labours and learning of men like Pocock and others mentioned above made great and solid additions, far too numerous and wide to be dwelt on here. Archbishops Laud and Ussher, both of whom had such learning intensely at heart, availed themselves of the Company to the full. Laud, in particular, was brought

* H. 6. p. 43.

† *Account of the Levant Co.*, p. 52.

into close touch with it by the events of 1632-4. A King's Order was issued to the Company in February, 1634, that "every shippe of yours at every voyage shall bring home one Arab or Persian manuscript booke, to be delyverd presently to the Master of the Company, and by him carryed or sent to the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury for the tyme being, who shall dispose of them as Wee in our wisdome shall thinke fitte . . . provided always that they bring any bookes saving the Alkarons, because wee have choyce of them allready." *

Not the chaplains alone were zealous to give such aid. Many of the leading merchants and Consuls of the Company made constant contributions. One of these, Thomas Davis, Superintendent at Aleppo, appears from Ussher's Correspondence to have supplied him constantly with valuable information. Sir Thomas Roe, formerly Ambassador at Constantinople, secured for Laud many valuable MSS. Towards promoting in the East knowledge of our Church, Pocock in about 1670 translated into Arabic our Catechism, M. and E. Prayer, the Offices of the Holy Communion and Baptism, the 39 Articles, and the arguments of the Homilies, for the use of Eastern Christians. Isaac Basire, who though a native of Rouen, was a B.D. of Cambridge and in English Orders travelled in the East 1649-1661 with the express purpose of making known the Catholic teaching and discipline of the Church of England. This he did both orally and by translating the Catechism into Greek, Arabic, and Turkish. "He availed himself of every legitimate opportunity to promote that reformation of the Greek Church which might lead to her communion with others." Evelyn's *Diary* records (October 10, 1661): "In the afternoon preached at the Abbey Dr. Busire, that great travailler, or rather French Apostle, who had been planting ye Church of England in divers parts of ye Levant and Asia." Though Basire was not strictly connected with our settlements, his activity is evidence of the spirit of interest in the welfare of the Greek

* *State Papers Domestic*, vol. 260, Nos. 116, 117. It is of interest to note that in 1632 Mr. Thomas Adams, a Cambridge man, afterwards Master of the Drapers' Company, Lord Mayor of London, and Baronet, founded the Professorship of Arabic at his old University.

Church which animated leaders of our church at that time. Thus early these colonies, churchmen, and scholars belonging to them formed a link, a channel of interpretation and understanding, between the Greek Church and the Church of England.

But of possible actual missionary enterprise towards Mohammedans, all I can find is that Pococke, who enjoyed the respect of Mohammedans at Aleppo, made an Arabic version of Grotius' treatise "Concerning the truth of the Christian Religion," and that Robert Boyle bore the cost of a translation into Turkish of the New Testament and Catechism.* But this was probably done more to enlighten Greek Christians than convert Mohammedans.

There, were, however, many English settlements in Southern Europe whose spiritual life was not nurtured as it was in the factories of the Levant Company. From the charter of the Company of 1605, the pages of Hakluyt, and other evidence, we learn of our trade at the close of the sixteenth century in many ports, cities, and islands of Southern Europe, besides those in which the privileges of the Company held good—Cartagena, Alicante, Denia, Valencia, Barcelona in Spain; Marseilles and Toulon in France; Genoa, Leghorn, Florence, Naples, Civita Vecchia in Italy; Palermo and Messina in Sicily; Malta, Minorca, Majorca, and Corsica. Of the provision of ministrations in most of these centres of trade we know but little. It would depend on the resources and desires of the English merchants. In some of the larger, chaplains were maintained by the Factories. At Lisbon there was a succession of chaplains from the reign of Charles II., distinguished by the names of Dr. Colbatch, a learned Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Mr. Williamson, who ministered acceptably to Dr. Doddridge in 1751.† At Oporto the Port Factory Chaplaincy dates from 1661, and the Register of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, dated 1716-1797, which evidences faithful and regular ministrations, is still in the keeping of the Bishop of London. The English Chapel there (consecrated August 20,

* Anderson, II. p. 296.

† Anderson, III. pp. 171 f.

1843, and since enlarged) was built about 1756.* At Leghorn there was an English Factory early in the seventeenth century, and our tombs in the old cemetery (now closed) begin in 1640. Here the English merchants sought a chaplain in 1706, when Basil Kennett, then Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, went out as first chaplain, and officiated for some years in the British Consulate. A church of a modest character was built about 1640; for 180 years it was the only English church in Italy, the next being the chapel built at Nice (then in Italy) in 1821-2. Isaac Basire implies that there was a chaplain at Messina about 1654, for he mentions that in his absence he held service himself for some weeks. But the smaller and weaker communities, especially where there was not the protection of a resident Consul, had probably the rarest ministrations, as so many of our similar colonies to-day. A note of their spiritual starvation is struck in the first Report of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, founded 1701.† This Report, published in 1704, states "*that in many of our Plantations, Colonies, and Factories beyond the Seas, the Provision for Ministers was very mean: and many others of our Plantations, Colonies, and Factories were wholly destitute and unprovided of a Maintenance for Ministers and the Publick Worship of God: and that for lack of Support and Maintenance for such, many wanted the Administration of God's Word and Sacraments, and seem'd to be abandoned to Atheism and Infidelity; and also that for want of Learned and Orthodox Ministers to instruct others of His (i.e. King William III.'s) Subjects in the principles of true Religion, divers Romish Priests and Jesuits were the more encouraged to pervert and draw them over to Popish Superstition and Idolatry.*" It may be thought that these words refer only to our American Plantations and

* Sellers, *Oporto New and Old*, pp. 41, 75 ff., 91. The Register above mentioned is reprinted in this work.

† The full title of this Society is for our purpose noteworthy. It is, "The Society for the Propagation in Foreign Parts: for the receiving, managing, and disposing of funds contributed for the religious instruction of the King's subjects beyond the Seas; for the maintenance of Clergymen in the Plantations, Colonies, and Factories of Great Britain, and for the Propagation of the Gospel in those parts."

Colonies, with which the Report is chiefly concerned. But the Report deals also with the needs of British colonies in Europe, and describes aid given to those in Amsterdam and Moscow; and that the words quoted apply to European colonies as well as American is seen in the forecast given of future activities of the Society. After referring to American colonies, it proceeds: "*which prospect, should it be enlarged by a view of the future care that is to be had of the remaining Factories and places to which we trade in Asia, Africa, and Europe itself, where they live as it were without God in the world to the great reproach of the Christian religion, except at Hamborough, Lisbon, Smyrna, Aleppo, Constanti-nople, Fort St. George, Surat, etc., which are well supplied by our worthy Merchants that trade or live there, etc.*" Thus the Report evidences strikingly the state of some of our Colonies in the Mediterranean and Levant, and also shows that from the very first the S.P.G. considered itself formed to meet their needs along with those of others.

Unfortunately for the colonies which form our subject, the Society soon left them out of its consideration. "It would appear," says a publication of the S.P.G., "that after the first few years the Society did nothing for British Subjects on the Continent of Europe until 1862. . . . In 1862 it resumed work on the Continent which had been suspended for more than 150 years."* The Colonial and Continental Church Society (founded 1823) began to aid existing chaplaincies in Southern Europe from about 1840.

* *The Spiritual Expansion of the Empire* (S.P.G., 1900), pp. 111, 114. See also *infra*, p. 68.

CHAPTER II

THE SPIRITUAL SUPERVISION OF THE MERCANTILE COMMUNITIES, AND THE DISSOLUTION OF THE LEVANT COMPANY

(I) *The responsibility for spiritual oversight of the Bishop of London*

REFERENCE must now be made to two very different events, one early, the other late in the period under consideration, which have had much to do with the spiritual welfare of the communities under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Gibraltar. Each ought to have created some coherence among them, but apparently failed to do so. One connected them more definitely than before with the organized system of the Church of England ; the other connected many of them with that of the State. The first was the recognition in 1633 of the responsibility of the Bishop of London for their episcopal superintendence ; the second was the initiation of Consular and Consular-aided Chaplaincies in 1825.

The jurisdiction of the Bishop of London over English Congregations abroad "rests on established custom from time immemorial, and was recognized and confirmed by an Order in Council on the 1st October, 1633. It was also further explained and ascertained by an Order in Council made in 1726 and by a commission under the Great Seal made in pursuance of such Order." * As the Order of 1633 is the first known definite act connected with this ancient custom, and is so much referred to in connection with the

* Letter of Mr. F. Hugh Lee.

Bishop's jurisdiction, it is worth while setting down the facts which gather round it.*

The incidents which led to the Order originated with a petition to the Crown of English Ministers in the Low Countries in 1624, praying for the vindication and maintenance of their position and liberties. These were threatened in the English Factory at Hamburg by the adoption of Genevan discipline and worship, the omission of reading the Common Prayers, and management of Church affairs on Calvin's plan of elders and deacons.

The answer given at the time is not known. But in 1632 Laud, then Bishop of London, offered through the Secretary of State, proposals to the Privy Council dealing with the case of foreign Factories and English Regiments employed by the States abroad. These proposals were directed to ensure conformity to the Church among the English beyond the seas. Clergy of the Church alone were to be employed, and her doctrine and discipline fully respected. There is, however, in the proposals no explicit introduction of the Bishop of London as Diocesan of these congregations. Custom may perhaps be taken to lie behind all Laud's action.

On September 19, 1633 Laud became Archbishop of Canterbury. On October 1 he procured the Order from the Privy Council "by which," writes Heylyn, "those English Churches and Regiments in Holland (and afterwards by degrees in all other Foreign parts and plantations) were required strictly to observe the *English* Liturgie with all the Rites and Ceremonies prescribed in it." At the meeting of the Council on October 1, 1633, the King himself being present, it was "resolved and ordered" by the Council "that they (*i.e.* the merchants) should not hereafter receive or admitt of any Minister into their said Churches in foraigne parts without his Ma^{tes} knowledge and approbacion of the person. And that the Liturgie and discipline now used in the Church

* See Jeremy Collier (Nonjuror, died 1726) *Eccl. Hist.*, VIII. pp. 50 ff.; Peter Heylyn (Chaplain to Charles I. and II., died 1662), *Life of Laud*, ed. 1668, pp. 274 ff.; Bishop Sandford's Paper on *Foreign Chaplaincies*, Church Congress, 1884.

of England should be received and established there. And that in all things concerning their Church Government they should be under the jurisdiction of the Lord Bishop of London as their Diocessan. For the orderly doeing wherof Mr. Attorney General is hereby prayed and required to advise and direct such a course as may be most effectual."* This minute of the Council, it will be observed, explicitly recognizes the Bishop of London as Diocesan of merchants in foreign parts.

In accordance with this the merchants of the Factory at Delph selected one Beaumont as their Preacher, and he took with him a letter from Laud, dated June, 1634, addressed to the Factory, which is full of interest. In this, writes Heylyn, "he signifieth in his Majesty's name, That they were to receive him (Beaumont) with all decent and courteous usage fitting his person and calling, allowing him the ancient Pension which formerly had been paid to his Predecessors. Which said in reference to the man himself, he lets them know that it was his Majesty's express command that both he, the Deputy (Governor) and all and every other Merchant that is or shall be residing in those parts beyond the Seas, do conform themselves to the Doctrine and Discipline settled in the Church of *England*: and that they frequent the Common-Prayer with all Religious duty and reverence at all times required, as well as they do Sermons; and that out of their company they should yearly about *Easter*, as the Canons prescribe, name two Church-Wardens, and two Sidesmen, which may look to the Orders of the Church and give an account according to their office." The letter proceeded to provide for these Letters being registered and kept, and copies furnished to Beaumont and his successors. Beaumont further "took these Instructions for his own proceedings; that is to say That he should punctually keep and observe all the orders of the Church of *England*, as they are prescribed in the *Canons* and the *Rubricks* of the *Liturgie*; and that if any person of that company shall shew himself refractory to that Ordinance of his Majesty, he should certify the name of such offender, and his offence to the Lord Bishop of London for

* Privy Council Register, 1 October, 1633, vol. 43.

the time being, who was to take order and give remedy accordingly."

Heylyn's concluding remarks show that these measures were applied to other colonies of our people beside those in the Low Countries, and in particular to those in the Levant. He writes: "And now at last we have the face of an *English Church* in *Holland* responsal to the Bishops of *London* for the time being, as a part of their Diocess, directly and immediately subject to their Jurisdiction. The like course also was prescribed for our Factories in *Hamborough*, and those further off, that is to say in *Turky*, in the *Mogul's* dominion, the *Indian Islands*, the Plantations in *Virginia*, the *Barbadoes*, and all other places where the English had any standing residence in the way of trade." He then makes reference to our earlier class of chaplaincies, namely, those connected with Embassies (see p. 35). "The like done also for regulating the Divine Service in the Families of all Ambassadors, residing in the Courts of Foreign Princes for his Majesty's Service; as also in the English Regiments, serving under the States. * * * The English *Agents* and Ambassadors in the Courts of Foreign Princes had not been formerly so regardful of the honour of the Church of *England*, as they might have been, as designing a set *Room* for religious uses, and keeping up the Vestments, Rites, and Ceremonies prescribed by the Law in performance of them. It was now hoped that there would be a Church of *England* in all Courts of *Christendom*, in the chief cities of the *Turk*, and other great Mahometan Princes, in all our Factories and Plantations in every known Part of the world, by which it might be rendred as diffused and *Catholick* as the Church of *Rome*."

It is clear that a jurisdiction so wide as that contemplated here, and widening with each decade, could never satisfy the ideals of the Episcopate of the Church of Christ. The Bishop of London could only appoint commissaries, who could, of course, exercise jurisdiction, but, being only priests, could not convey the spiritual gifts for the conveying of which the Episcopate exists. Such an entire misapprehension of the Episcopate still lives; there are persons who can only associate

government and jurisdiction with the function of a bishop ; and such jurisdiction is too often made to depend on letters patent, or (worse still) on the power of the purse. Bishop Gibson (Bishop of London, 1723-1748) declined responsibility for the Colonies : he could find no authority for his assuming it. He looked in vain for the Order in Council of 1633 ; but on receiving a commission from the King he followed the example of his predecessor and appointed his commissaries.* But, as is said above (p. 23), the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London over the colonies—and the burden of it—does not rest on the Order in Council. “ The statement that all British subjects abroad were placed by an Order in Council of Charles I. under the care of the Bishop of London does not appear to apply to the colonies, since in 1764 A.D. the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London in the colonies was still regarded as resting on the foot of custom and was stated not to be established or exercised effectually. The Virginia Company were merely recommended to apply to the Bishop of London to assist in sending some clergy of the Church of England to reside in that colony. On the other hand, on the supposition that the Bishop of London had some jurisdiction, all instructions to Governors up to 1764 ordered them to give countenance to the Bishop of London’s jurisdiction.” † In the Colonies the Governor acted as Ordinary in so far as it was possible for a layman to do so.‡ It was doubtless the impossibility of really being Bishop to such communities that pressed Bishop Blomfield to promote, as we shall see later, the extension of the colonial episcopate, and in particular the establishment of the Bishopric of Gibraltar.

In the Diocese of Gibraltar the ancient connexion with the See of London is preserved in several ways. The Bishop of London signs, with the Archbishop, the “ Authority ” delivered to each Bishop of Gibraltar. Some churches are vested in him, and he is the patron of one or two, though as patron or corporation sole in whom the churches are vested,

* *Ch. Q. Review*, Oct., 1877, p. 37.

† Halsbury’s *Encyclopædia*, vol. XI. p. 488, note (s).

‡ Halsbury’s *Encyclop.*, *l.c.*, where examples are given.

he claims no jurisdiction over them when appointment has been made.

(2) *The Dissolution of the Levant Company, 1825, and the Consular Advances Act*

The dissolution of the Levant Company, involving the termination of its Chaplaincies, and the beginning of Consular and Consular-aided Chaplaincies, took place in 1825.

From the earliest days of the Company the great representatives and guardians of British trade in the Levant had been appointed and paid by the Company, from Ambassadors at Constantinople to the Factors and Agents. As British trade increased, it became clearer that much of the work done by Companies ought to be done by the State ; that the great Joint Stock Companies, and in a lesser degree the Levant Company, had served their purpose ; and that in the interests of British Commerce charters and privileges should cease. A sign of what was coming was that in 1803 Government assumed to itself the appointment and payment of the Ambassador at Constantinople and his secretaries, with some additional Consuls. Next, the political events of 1821, in which Turkey figured largely, made trade of secondary importance compared with great State interests of Europe ; and our Government deemed it expedient that the whole of the Consular Establishment should be in the appointment and under the control of the Government. Thereupon followed the reorganisation of the whole of our Consular system. The passing of the Consular Act of 1825 was accompanied by the extinction of practically all these ancient corporations. The Levant Company dissolved itself voluntarily, after long service to the Realm, to trade, and to the peoples among whom its members and agents traded, and with an unequalled character for enlightenment, humanity, and consideration. Two great companies survived—the East India Company, founded Dec. 31, 1600, which lasted until 1859, and the Hudson Bay Company, founded in 1669, which still exists,

As some knowledge of this Act is essential for the right understanding of many of our chaplaincies, an account of certain of its provisions must be given. The Act itself is dated July 5, 1825.* It made provision for the support (along with that of Burial grounds and hospitals) of churches and chapels in foreign ports and places where a chaplain was appointed and maintained by subscription. The Consuls were authorized to advance for such purpose a sum equal to the amount subscribed. "As such chaplains," the Act runs, "have been appointed and are resident, and it is expedient to afford encouragement for the support of such Churches so erected, and to promote the erection of others in Foreign Ports and Places to which His Majesty's subjects may resort or wherein they may be resident in considerable numbers for the purposes of trade or otherwise," it is enacted that "at any Foreign Port or Place in which a Chaplain is now (*i.e.* 1825) or shall at any future time be resident and regularly employed in the Celebration of Divine Service, according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the United Church of England and Ireland and of the Church of Scotland, the grant shall be made for and towards the maintenance and support of any such Chaplain as aforesaid, or for and towards defraying expences incident to the due Celebration of Divine Service in any such Churches and Chapels." The grant could be made for erecting, hiring, or purchasing a church or chapel. The measure enacted further that all such expenditure should have first the sanction of the Government; that the whole salary of the chaplain should not exceed £500 per an. in any Foreign Port or Place in Europe, or £800 per. an. in any Foreign Port or place not in Europe; and that all such chaplains should be appointed to officiate by His Majesty through one of his principal Secretaries of State, and should hold such office "for and during His Majesty's pleasure and no longer." Lastly, it provided for Meetings of Subscribers, and that "General Meetings" might establish Rules for the

* The title is "6 George IV., c. 87. An Act to regulate the Payment of Salaries and Allowances to *British* Consuls at Foreign Ports, and the Disbursements at such Ports for certain public Purposes." It is known as "The Consular Advances Act."

management of such churches and chapels, subject to the sanction of the Consul, who was to transmit the same for His Majesty's approbation.

The measure promised, and had, mixed effects. It was undoubtedly for good that small and poor colonies which either could not quite afford to maintain a chaplain, or did so with great difficulty, while the chaplain was inadequately paid, now found substantial aid. In many cases local effort and support of church and chaplain (and burial ground and hospital) would be encouraged, though in others it may have been reduced and local independence impaired by acceptance of such aid and dependence on it. It was by no means an unmixed good that a chaplaincy and church should be thus closely connected with the State; or that in all such aided chaplaincies so much influence and control should rest with the Consul, who might be altogether indifferent to religion. If, however, we may judge from the patriotism and impartiality of members of the Consular Service of to-day, it may be reckoned that the disadvantages of this provision, save in some special cases, were not so great as the advantage gained by the countenance given to the Church and religion by connexion with the recognised head of the British community. Again, the entrusting to local subscribers the drawing up of Rules for management was not without risk of future trouble and confusion; for communities and Consuls living for a long time away from England, and without any trustworthy guidance as to the traditions, customs, and laws of the Church of England might easily frame rules inconsistent with these, and such as infringed either the rights of a clergyman of the Church of England or of the congregation, or on the other hand bestowed on one the functions of the other. In particular, the Act was made subversive of all Church principles in one important point by allowing a mere money qualification for a vote at the Church meetings for managing the affairs of the chaplaincies (§ 14 of the Act)—a precedent which has been most unhappily followed in the constitution of some other Church of England committees on the continent.* And though such points in the sets of Rules then

* Bishop Sandford, *Ch. Q. R.*, Jan. 1878, p. 355.

drawn up passed unnoticed, yet they have in certain places created traditions which have caused difficulties in more recent times when questions have been raised by those who have looked and called for closer adherence to the acknowledged principles and customs of the Church of England at home. Had there been a Bishop of Gibraltar in 1825 the framing of these Rules would doubtless have had his most careful attention. As it was, the Bishop of London had not that intimate knowledge of the colonies nor that personal touch with them as would enable him to give the watchful guidance required.

But on no class of chaplaincies did the changes of 1825 fall so heavily as on those of the Levant Company. These communities passed as to their Church affairs from being under the generous control of a Company fully acquainted with their history, and with an almost paternal care for their welfare to that of Consuls and a Government which necessarily in the long run took a harder, colder, more "business-like" view of things, and whose action as years passed was affected by party-spirit in matters of politics and religion in England. Of this we shall see the fruit when we come to consider the episcopate of Bishop Sandford. But the change was immediately felt by the Communities in matters financial. A colony, which up to 1825 had a chaplain with a stipend provided entirely by the Company, found itself called on to find a large sum, if the chaplaincy were to be maintained. Doubtless the larger colonies, such as that in Smyrna, were fully equal to such a demand; and it was not any loss to their churchmanship that they should be called on to contribute to the cost of privileges they enjoyed. But in the case of smaller communities, *e.g.* that at Patras, the change must have been severely felt. Moreover, the Act was capable of change and repeal. In this matter again, had the Bishopric been established before, it is at least possible that better provision would have been made for poorer and smaller communities, instead of state aid being rigidly proportionate to local means and contributions. As it was enacted, a wealthy colony obtained a large grant because of its wealth, and a poorer a less grant because of its poverty. The provision which was made, if

convenient, was in this matter really inconsiderate. It is to be observed also that the Act allowed assistance to be given only in Ports and Places where there was a British Consul resident.*

* The repeal of this Act in 1873 necessarily affected all chaplaincies and churches which had received allowances under it, and will be referred to later (see p. 110).



ENGLISH CHAPEL, NICE, BUILT 1821
(FROM A DRAWING PRESERVED IN HOLY TRINITY CHURCH)

CHAPTER III

NON-MERCANTILE CONGREGATIONS AND CHAPLAINCIES

(1) *Congregations and Chaplaincies of the Riviera and Italy*

AS the eighteenth century closed and the nineteenth century opened a new class of English congregations began to appear in South Europe. The trickle of occasional visitors grew into a steady stream as facilities for travel improved, the endless attractions of the climate, the treasures of art and architecture, the scenery of Southern France and Italy became more known and appreciated, and the less expensive cost of living and the freshness of a different type of life were realised by persons of slender means and unconventional tastes. In many French and Italian cities there had long been resident little groups of English people usually of good station of life. But now year by year the flow of invalids, artists, retired officials, as well as of tourists, speculators, and writers grew in volume, and large settlements were formed. Such colonies, however much some individuals abandoned English habits of life, maintained home traditions very strongly, and desired the spiritual ministrations to which they had been used in England. The laws of the land made the erection of English churches difficult if not impossible. Services were held in private houses or in hired rooms. Travelling or visiting clergy were the first officiants. But before long the need of settled chaplains made itself felt, and steps were taken to collect necessary stipends. Hence arose our now permanent chaplaincies other than those of purely mercantile communities. In most places the congregations had only their own resources

to depend on. Unless there were a British Consul resident, no assistance under the Consular Advances Act of 1825 was available.* The S.P.G. was strangely indifferent to such growing communities; and the Colonial and Continental Church Society, founded in 1823, first considered their needs in 1839.

It is impossible to dwell in detail on the gradual development of chaplaincies of this type. They are so familiar to-day, and so numerous, that to the majority of English Church people, knowing little of the far older mercantile chaplaincies, little else comes to mind when the Diocese of Gibraltar is mentioned. Moreover within the last few years two valuable monographs have furnished the history of two such chaplaincies, those at Florence and Rome, tracing their growth from intermittent services in private rooms to the settled chaplaincies of the beautiful Churches of Holy Trinity, Florence, and All Saints', Rome.† The first chaplain at Florence was the Rev. Dr. Trevor, chaplain 1819-1823, and he had eight successors before the establishment of the Bishopric in 1842. Holy Trinity Church was built in 1844 and consecrated on June 2, 1846. At Rome (where in the days of the temporal power of the Papacy conditions were altogether unique) the first service for English people generally was held by the Rev. Dr. Hue in his own rooms on Sunday, October 27, 1816. A hired granary was adapted as a chapel, and served from 1824 until the present church was built in 1882-1887.

The preceding pages will enable the reader to realise that the ancient mercantile communities are far older and more settled than these later colonies of English people seeking health, recreation, art, or place of retirement, of whom year by year an increasing proportion are temporary sojourners.

* See reply of the Government, October 29, 1841, to an application from Florence, given in Tassinari's *The History of the English Church in Florence*, p. 203.

† *The History of the English Church in Florence*, by Catherine Daniell Tassinari, Florence (London Agents, J. M. Dent & Co.), 1905. *The History of the English Church in Rome*, from 1816-1916, by Muriel Talbot Wilson, 1916. To be obtained from the Authoress.

(2) *Government Establishments*

Besides the congregations, churches, and clergy of these two classes of colonies, there were those of a third class—namely those of the Government Establishments at Gibraltar and Malta, British possessions by capitulation since 1704 and 1800 respectively, and in the Ionian Islands. By a treaty made at Paris in November, 1815, between Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, the seven Islands scattered along the coast from Epirus to the extreme south of the Morea were constituted into a single free and independent state under the name of the United States of the Ionian Islands, and this state was placed under the immediate and exclusive protection of Great Britain, with a Lord High Commissioner in residence.* When these islands were ceded to Greece, May 30, 1864, the Government provision of chaplains ceased. There were mercantile communities on the islands, especially on Corfu, Zante, and Cephalonia.

(3) *Embassy Chaplaincies*

If there were any Embassy chaplaincies in Southern Europe (beside that at Constantinople) during this period, they would form a fourth class. "Such chaplaincies are the earliest foreign chaplaincies of which we have any distinct account. We find the mention of Mr. Chamberlayne, ambassador from King Edward VI. to the Lady Regent of Flanders in 1550, and Mr. Mann, ambassador of Queen Elizabeth in Spain in 1556, both of whom were attended by their chaplains, and both of whom were interrupted in the exercise of their religion by being prohibited from having service in their own houses—a prohibition which was removed upon the urgent representations of the English Government."† Hakluyt tells of Mr. Humphrey Cole, "a learned preacher" who accompanied Sir Jerome Bowes, ambassador to the Russian court in 1583;‡

* See Morley's *Life of Gladstone*, Bk. IV. c. X.

† Bishop Sandford, in *Ch. Q. Review*, January, 1878, p. 348.

‡ H. 2, p. 252.

and Hakluyt himself was chaplain of the embassy in Paris, 1583-1588. But I have not learned of any such chaplaincies regularly maintained in the countries in which the communities with which we are specially concerned were settled.

CHAPTER IV

THE FOUNDATION OF THE BISHOPRIC OF GIBRALTAR

AS we survey the Church life of these English communities it is impossible not to be struck by one fact. They were from the sixteenth century thoroughly loyal to the Church of England. The Levant Company lived and flourished with the spirit of the Church within it. The whole attitude of the Home Government from the days of Laud onwards was calculated to keep the communities within the doctrine and discipline of that Church. By ancient custom, and more explicitly from 1634 they were under the diocesan care of the Bishop of London. In cases of difficulty the Ecclesiastical authorities in England assisted benevolently and readily, as when a Commission was obtained from the Queen in Council, Sept. 8. 1709, authorizing Basil Kennett to perform Divine Service at Leghorn "after the usage and manner of the Church of England," or when in 1815 countenance and advice was given as to the building of a church at Oporto. Presumably many of the chaplains went out holding the Licence of the Bishop of London.

(1) *Anxiety for the episcopal supervision of Colonial Churches*

But of other episcopal functions in these widely scattered chaplaincies we hear nothing; nor have I discovered any demand for them proceeding from the chaplaincies themselves. In the first Report of the S.P.G. of 1704, words from a letter written in 1702 by the Rev. J. Talbot, one of the Society's earliest missionaries to America, are quoted thus:

"N.B.—There are earnest addresses from parts of the (American) Continent, and Islands adjacent, for a Suffragan to visit the several churches ; ordain some, confirm others, and bless all." But I can find no similar desire for confirmation and blessing in the history of our South European colonies. The historian of the colonial Churches must tell of the long efforts to secure Bishops for our people in North America, which originated from the S.P.G. in 1702. These found a strong advocate in Dean Kennett in 1716 and received a legacy of £1000 from Archbishop Tenison to S.P.G. in the previous year "toward the settlement of two Bishops, one for the continent, the other for the isles of America.* These efforts reached their goal only when Bishop Seabury was consecrated by the Scotch Bishops in 1784 and our first colonial Diocese of Nova Scotia was created in 1787 under gallant Bishop Inglis. But our communities in South Europe were smaller in numbers and less before the public eye than those in North America, India, and Australia ; they were communities of English people, and not strictly speaking Colonies of the British Crown ; they could not make themselves heard collectively ; and it was not until 1841 that their need of a Bishop was recognized.

Need indeed there was. The encouragement and comfort which the personal presence of a Father in God can bring : the grace of confirmation : the strength, mutual help, and spirit of progress which a Bishop and Diocese secure : the seeking of suitable clergy : the disciplinary supervision of both congregations and chaplains : † the vigilant provision of ministrations for smaller scattered communities : the storage

* Anderson, III. 161.

† From an early date in the nineteenth century a considerable number of English clergy, not of good character, and unable to obtain work in England, went to the Continent, and either ingratiated themselves with congregations, or started English Church Services speculatively wherever they saw a promising opening. See the article by F. N. Oxenham, *Anglican Bishops and Clergy on the Continent*, "The Church Times," July 19, 1907 ; and Paper of Bishop Sandford at the Church Congress, 1884, on *Foreign Chaplaincies ; their Episcopal Supervision*, p. 6 ; also F.O. Circular, 1866, p. 75, *infra*.

of precedents and experience:—all this was wanting to the sons and daughters of our Church in South Europe. The life of our communities was an individual life: coherence there was none, nor corporate power and action. The Act of 1825 ended what coherence there was between the chaplaincies of the Levant Company, and all other chaplaincies lived and worked each alone by itself. Though I cannot say that there was not a single episcopal visitation or confirmation in South Europe either by a Bishop of London or by a Bishop commissioned by him before the establishment of the Bishopric of Gibraltar, yet I have not found a record of any. Such "Church life" of our communities was no true Church life: it was a kind of "Church congregationalism."

Anxiety and action for the welfare of Colonial Churches grew steadily from the close of the eighteenth century. Quebec received its first Bishop (Dr. J. Mountain) in 1793, India (Dr. T. F. Middleton) in 1814, Jamaica (Dr. Lipscomb) and Barbados (Dr. Coleridge) in 1824, Australia (Dr. W. G. Broughton) in 1836. In 1839 the Colonial Bishopricks Council was constituted and the Colonial Bishopricks Fund (to which the chief initial contributors were the S.P.C.K., the S.P.G., and the C.M.S.) was started. Through action of this council and its Fund the See of New Zealand was erected in 1841, and in 1842 the Sees of Antigua, Guiana, Tasmania, and Gibraltar. The Bishopric of Gibraltar was the twelfth colonial Bishopric of the Church of England. The only contribution from the Diocese itself for the endowment of the See of which I know was £800-£900 from Malta.*

(2) *The Consecration of Bishop Luscombe, 1825*

The following facts bearing on the establishment of the Bishopric and the selection of the first Bishop require record.†

British residents of our communion in France had long felt the need of episcopal ministrations, especially for the confirmation of their children. Seeing difficulties in

* See *Gibraltar Diocesan Gazette*, Jan., 1914, p. 72.

† The substance of the paragraphs which follow is taken largely from Bishop Sandford's article in the *Ch. Q. R.*, Jan., 1878, pp. 356-9.

obtaining a consecration from England, they applied to the Bishops of the Scotch Church, who proceeded in the matter with great caution, and only consented to consecrate Dr. Luscombe to be Bishop of the Scots, English, and others of their communion abroad when they had clearly ascertained that they might do so with the full concurrence of the Archbishops and the Government of the day. Dr. Luscombe was consecrated on Sunday, March 20, 1825. The letters of collation delivered to him by the consecrating Bishops contain these words :—

“He is sent by us representing the Scotch Episcopal Church, to the Continent of Europe, not as a diocesan bishop in the modern or limited sense of the word, but for a purpose similar to that for which Titus was left by Paul in Crete, *that he may set in order the things that are wanting* among such of the natives of Great Britain and Ireland as he shall find there professing to be members of the United Church of England and Ireland and the Episcopal Church of Scotland. But we do solemnly enjoin our Right Reverend Brother Bishop Luscombe *not to disturb the peace of any Christian Society established as a National Church* in whatever nation he may chance to sojourn.”

Bishop Luscombe built entirely at his own expense a chapel at Paris in the Rue d'Aguesseau, officiating both as Bishop and also from 1828 as Chaplain to the British Embassy. Some few chaplains accepted his licence; some declined to sever the older tie binding them to the Bishop of London, while those who wished to avoid all interference or inquiry were more easily able to maintain their independence when they might be supposed to have a choice as to their diocesan.*

When Bishop Luscombe died at Lausanne on Aug. 24, 1846, no successor was appointed.

* Dr. Biber states that of 68 English Clergy officiating in North and Central Europe and Portugal in 1846, 27 were licensed by the Bishop of London and acknowledged his jurisdiction; 13 (12 in France, 1 in Germany) were licensed by Bishop Luscombe; 28 officiated with no episcopal licence. *The English Church on the Continent*, ed. 1846, pp. 27 ff.



HOLY TRINITY CATHEDRAL, GIBRALTAR

(3) *The action of Bishop Blomfield, 1840-1841 ;
the Bishopric of Gibraltar proposed*

In April, 1840, Bishop Blomfield of London addressed a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Howley) urging the necessity of a large increase of the colonial episcopate.

"If we desire," he wrote, "the good done by missionaries to be complete, permanent and growing with the Church's growth, we must plant the Church in our colonies in all its integrity. Each colony must have not only its parochial or district pastors, but its chief pastor, to watch over and guide and direct the whole. An Episcopal Church without a bishop is a contradiction in terms." *

There were then only nine colonial dioceses, and for the whole of the Clergy and people not included in them Dr. Blomfield as Bishop of London was theoretically responsible. A public meeting was consequently held on April 27, 1841, when, among other pressing claims, the necessity for a Bishop in the Mediterranean was strongly insisted upon, especially by the Archbishop and Archdeacon Manning. It was urged that, besides the need of providing episcopal supervision and ministry for our own congregations and clergy in S. Europe, there was the second necessity of promoting a better understanding with the Churches of the East.† This latter necessity had been felt so strongly that in 1840 the Rev. G. Tomlinson, one of the Secretaries of the S.P.C.K., had been sent on a mission to the Patriarch and other Prelates of the Greek Church, furnished with commendatory letters from the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London. He met with a friendly reception from the heads of the Oriental Church, and especially from the bishops and principal clergy of Greece ; and the results of his mission, together with the needs of the English residents on the Mediterranean, led to

* C.C.C., Aug., 1866, p. 41. *The indebtedness of Colonial Churches for establishment and progress of Bishop Blomfield.*

† A summary of communications of different kinds between the English Church and the Eastern Patriarchates is given in Bishop J. Wordsworth's Lecture (delivered in 1898) on *The Church of England and the Eastern Patriarchates*. Parker, Oxford.

the determination that one of the first of the new bishoprics should be for the English in these parts.

Accordingly, at a meeting of the Archbishops and Bishops held at Lambeth, on the Tuesday in Whitsun week, 1841, a declaration was put forth, which, after first proposing the establishment of a bishopric in New Zealand, proceeds thus :—

“Our next object will be to make a similar provision for the congregations of our own communion established in the islands of the Mediterranean, and in the countries bordering on that sea ; and it is evident that the position of Malta is such as will render it the most convenient point of communication with them, as well as with the bishops of the ancient Churches of the East, to whom our Church has been for centuries known only by name.

“We propose, therefore, that a See be fixed at Valetta, the residence of the English Government, and that its jurisdiction extend to all the clergy of our Church residing within the limits above specified. In this city, through the munificence of Her Majesty the Queen Dowager, a church is in course of erection, which, when completed, will form a suitable cathedral.”

There were, however, civil as well as ecclesiastical reasons which led to Gibraltar being constituted the territorial diocese and cathedral town of the Bishop, as there already existed a Roman Catholic Bishop of Malta, who was acknowledged by the English Government.

In view of much that follows the double purpose of the promoters of the Bishopric calls for special attention. They hoped that it would not only serve the spiritual life of our own people, but would also prove to be an interpreter and bond between our Church and the Churches of the East.

(4) *The Letters Patent establishing the See of Gibraltar, 1842*

The Letters Patent establishing the See of Gibraltar are dated August 21st, 1842. They establish the Bishopric on a

large scale, which Bishop Sandford thought "rather too ambitious." * They recited that the Crown had received representations that the Clergy and Laity of the communion of the United Church of England and Ireland resident within Gibraltar and Malta and in divers places within the islands and countries situated in and around the Mediterranean were from the divided state of Christendom and from other causes destitute of the pastoral superintendence of local Bishops and Ordinaries ; that they had been customarily subject to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London in subordination to the metropolitical See of Canterbury, but owing to remoteness from England, and increased and increasing number of clergy and laity, both clergy and laity were exposed in matters spiritual and ecclesiastical to grave detriment and inconvenience ; that the Archbishops and Bishops who made the representations had urged that these evils might in some degree be remedied by the erection of a Bishop's See in Gibraltar, and prayed the Crown by Royal authority to erect and constitute the same.

In granting the prayer, the Letters Patent made the following provisions :—

1. The Church of the Holy Trinity, Gibraltar, to be a Cathedral Church and Bishop's See.
2. Gibraltar to be a city, and be called The City of Gibraltar.
3. The City of Gibraltar and all territory comprised in that possession, and its dependencies to be the Diocese of the Bishop of Gibraltar, and to be called in all time coming the Diocese of Gibraltar, with power of extension.
4. Dr. Tomlinson to be consecrated Bishop for the new See.
5. The Bishop of Gibraltar to be a Body Corporate and made a perpetual Corporation, known by the name of the Lord Bishop of Gibraltar, capable of holding property, pleading, etc., in all Courts, and having a Corporate Seal.

* S., 1879, p. 25.

6. The Bishop of Gibraltar to be subject and subordinate to the Metropolitan See of Canterbury and its Archbishops as a Bishop of any See in the province of Canterbury.
7. The Bishop of Gibraltar to perform all functions peculiar and appropriate to the office of Bishop in the Cathedral and Diocese of Gibraltar and in all duly consecrated churches and chapels in Malta and dependencies thereof, especially in St. Paul's Church, Valetta.
8. The Bishop of Gibraltar to appoint divers Diocesan officers, who shall exercise only such and so much jurisdiction as he shall commit to them.
9. The jurisdiction Spiritual and Ecclesiastical of the Bishop of Gibraltar to be according to ecclesiastical laws now in force in England.
10. The Bishop of Gibraltar to give institution to benefices and grant licences to officiate ; to visit clergy with all and all manner of jurisdiction power and coercion ecclesiastical ; to administer such oaths as are accustomed and by law may be administered according to the Ecclesiastical Laws of England to exercise discipline ; and may found and fill Canonries.
11. Governors, Judges and others, and Clergy to help the Bishop of Gibraltar.
12. Appeal provided to the Archbishop of Canterbury from judgments of the Bishop of Gibraltar.
13. For the resignation of the Bishop.

The Foreign Office Circular, 1842

After Dr. Tomlinson's consecration, and before his installation at Gibraltar on Nov. 6, Lord Aberdeen, the Foreign Secretary, issued on Oct. 20, 1842, a Circular to Her Majesty's Ministers and Consuls in the States bordering on the Mediterranean. This Circular is of importance as indicating the limits within which the Bishop of Gibraltar was to have spiritual superintendence over members of the Anglican Communion, and the nature thereof. It was addressed to

the Ambassadors in Constantinople and Paris ; the Ministers at Athens, Florence, Naples, Turin, and Madrid ; the Consuls at Alicante, Barcelona, Cadiz, Cartagena, Malaga ; Ancona, Genoa, Leghorn, Messina, Naples, Nice, Palermo, Rome,* Venice ; Marseilles ; Fiume, Trieste ; Athens, Patras, Prevesa ; Constantinople, the Dardanelles, Salonica, Smyrna ; Tripoli, Tangier, Tunis ; and in the islands of Sardinia (Cagliari), Corsica, Minorca (Mahon), Crete, Cyprus, and Syra.

After notifying the consecration of the Bishop, the Circular proceeds:—"And it has been ordered by Her Majesty's permission that the spiritual superintendence hitherto exercised by the Bishop of London over the Ministers and Congregations of the United Church of England and Ireland in certain of the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, including that country in which you reside, shall henceforth devolve upon the Bishop of Gibraltar." Such Ministers and Congregations are exhorted to pay a dutiful obedience to the Bishop of Gibraltar in all spiritual matters, and to give him all due support. If they fail to do so they must be prepared to risk the advantage which they derive from the countenance of H.M. Government. Ministers and Congregations receiving pecuniary assistance from Government will be expected and required to render such obedience and to give such support as a condition of this aid being continued.

Speaking summarily the Bishop, with his authority in Gibraltar as the Diocese, and in Malta, was to exercise such spiritual superintendence over Clergy and other members of our Communion in Spain, S. France, Italy, part of Austria, Greece, part of the Turkish Empire, N. Africa (West of Tripoli), and the Islands of the Mediterranean as the Bishop of London had previously exercised.

It will be observed that in these documents no reference

* A Copy of the Circular preserved in the Bishop's Register contains "Rome." A note is appended to the effect that its despatch to Rome was disputed, and that "there is a proof that it never arrived there." On the consequences of this dispute see M. Talbot Wilson, *The History of the English Church in Rome*, pp. 47, 54-58, 68 f., 88, 91. See also *infra*, p. 67 n., 91 f., 114 n.

whatever is made to Government Chaplains, Chapels, or Forces. From the first these have not been under the jurisdiction and superintendence of the Bishop of Gibraltar. For the provision of ministrations to them the Admiralty and the War Office are solely responsible. Neither Navy nor Army chaplains have ever been licensed as chaplains by the Bishop of Gibraltar: it is clearly impossible for him to be responsible for all that is implied in the licensing of clergy in their case without reducing his licence to the merest form or constituting the Government Bishop-in-commission for the purpose. Nor do these clergy minister in congregations or churches under his Jurisdiction, save as visiting clergy or after his granting them licence to do so. The government chapels, of both garrisons and dockyards, are independent of the Bishop of Gibraltar. If he ministers in them, it is on invitation, not as Diocesan and Ordinary. The Bishops of Gibraltar have always welcomed opportunities of serving the Forces of the Crown, as these pages will testify, and as all in Gibraltar and Malta know; to do so is ever a peculiar privilege and delight. The assistance of Navy and Army chaplains is often generously given to the civil chaplains and gratefully received. But the fact that the Bishop of Gibraltar neither has jurisdiction over the Forces (or their chapels), nor is responsible for ministrations to them wherever they may be within the geographical limits of his Jurisdiction, needs plain recognition.

It is clear that certain inconveniences must arise from these conditions, and indeed such have arisen, especially in Malta; but at present change is impossible, and all that is needed is that they be dealt with considerately and equitably.*

*Note on the legal aspect of the Bishopric of Gibraltar
as founded*

The following extract from Lord Halsbury's *Encyclopædia of the Laws of England* (Vol. XI., pp. 483 f., Ecclesiastical Law, The Church of England in the Colonies and India and elsewhere), presents the legal position of the Bishopric as founded. "The ministrations of the Church

* See pp. 35; 50 f.; 53 f.; 66; 91; 93.

of England are not confined within the boundaries of England and Wales, but may be extended throughout all the other dominions of the King and on the high seas, and throughout foreign parts wherever persons reside, whether subjects of the King or not, who are desirous that the Word of God and the sacraments should be administered to them according to the liturgy of that Church.

“The State recognizes a duty to provide for religious ministrations to those who are in the direct employment of the State, whether within or without the realm, and while provision is made for the appointment of ministers of other denominations where a sufficient number of members of a particular denomination are serving to justify it, the provisions in general made relate both in the Army and in the Navy and other services to the appointment of ministers and the provision of ministrations of the Church of England.

“Although there is no legal obligation on the State (excepting as above mentioned in respect of its own servants), or on any officers or members of the Church of England as such to provide for such ministrations outside the boundaries of England and Wales, provision has been freely made, not only by the State (including therein the Crown as representing the Home Government and the Government of the particular locality where it has independent powers), but also by officers and members of the Church and by societies formed for the express purpose of providing or assisting such ministrations wherever they may be required or needed.*

* “The principal organizations engaged in providing for such ministrations are, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, founded in 1698; the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, founded in 1701; the Church Missionary Society, founded in 1799; the Colonial and Continental Church Society, founded in 1823; and the Colonial Bishoprics Council, constituted in 1841. The societies named administer large funds, derived from voluntary subscriptions and endowments, in providing and assisting the ministering of the Word of God and the sacraments according to the liturgy of the Church of England, and they take such precautions as are deemed necessary to secure that their funds are administered for the purposes for which they have been given for the benefit of the Church of England as by law established, or of Churches forming branches of it, or, where the trusts permit of it, for the benefit of churches in communion with the Church of England; but they do not directly interfere in the organization of churches or the foundation of bishoprics or of dioceses, excepting so far as the provision of funds and the taking of due precautions for the right application of them are concerned.

“The Colonial Bishoprics Council, although constituted as a voluntary association without any power as an association to give its decisions any binding legal form, has undertaken the duty of applying funds for the endowment of additional bishoprics in the colonies so as to provide for

By these means, as well as by the organised efforts of persons living in the Colonies or abroad, provision has been and is being made for such ministrations."

This position was affected later by the measure of 1872 ; see pp. 107 ff.

a systematic superintendence of the clergy and the administration of those ordinances which are committed to the episcopal order, having due regard to the insufficient provision which has been made for the spiritual care of the members of the Church of England in the colonies and in distant parts of the world. With these objects in view it promotes and assists the formation, constitution, and endowment of those dioceses which it considers to be most urgently needed, and by means of the influence of the archbishops and bishops who compose it, and by invoking the assistance of the prerogative rights of the Crown in some cases, and of the colonial legislatures in other cases, it has succeeded in effectively constituting many colonial archbishoprics and bishoprics on a valid legal basis and in fixing the boundaries of their provinces and dioceses.

"The procedure which was followed in the case of the creation of bishoprics from the formation of the Council in 1841 until the year 1872 was that the Council, having satisfied themselves that it would be expedient to found a bishopric in a particular colony and that sufficient funds for the due maintenance of a bishop were available, obtained the assent of Her Majesty's Government and entered into an agreement with the Crown through Her Majesty's ministers that a specified annual income should be appropriated out of the Colonial Bishoprics Fund for the use of such bishop, and Her Majesty thereupon granted her letters patent purporting to create the diocese required, and then appointed some priest to be consecrated as bishop of such diocese" (*Natal (Bishop) v. Gladstone* (1866), L. R. 3 Eq. 1, at p. 25).

II

THE BISHOPRIC OF GIBRALTAR, 1842-1873

A REALLY satisfactory account of the development of the Diocese during the period 1842-1873 is as yet impossible owing to the paucity of records. The Bishop's Register, beside copies of documents relating to appointment and enthronement, contains the scantiest entries.* No Confirmation Lists or Diaries which might have given first-hand notes, or hints of schemes of organizing and working the Diocese, have survived. Most of the information now available is drawn from (a) scattered notes in the pages of the *Colonial Church Chronicle*, issued 1847-1874; (b) Dr. G. E. Biber's *The English Church on the Continent*, edn. 1846; † (c) the *Pastoral Letters* of Bishop Sandford; (d) Records of the S.P.G. A careful examination of records preserved in the several chaplaincies will probably yield more, but has yet to be made systematically. The Bishopric was started without an official residence, or a Diocesan Office; and to this fact is due the loss of our earliest official records.

* The only entries are these. Of Bishop Tomlinson's episcopate; of the consecration of Burial-grounds at Gibraltar and Cadiz, 1842; of the collation to a canonry of the Rev. T. Sleeman, 1853; of the ordination of Dr. Alder at Gibraltar, 1853, and of his appointment to divers offices. Of Bishop Trower's episcopate: of the confirmation of Dr. Alder in his offices; of the consecration of St. Mary Magdalene Church at Bournabat, Whit Monday, 1864; of the consecration of a Burial-ground at Port St. Mary, 1865; of the licence of the Rev. M. Powley, and of his collation to a canonry, 1866. Of Bishop Harris' episcopate: of the confirmation of Dr. Alder in his offices; of the collation into Canonries of the Rev. W. F. Addison and the Rev. H. Sidebotham, 1870.

† This edition is fuller and more accurate than that of 1845. The 1845 edition has no information about the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of Gibraltar.

CHAPTER V

THE EPISCOPATE OF BISHOP TOMLINSON, 1842-1863

DR. GEORGE TOMLINSON was born in 1794. He was a graduate of St. John's College, Cambridge, of which College he was a Scholar 1823-1826. His selection as first Bishop of Gibraltar was probably due to his wide outlook, his connexion with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (of which he was a secretary 1831-1842), and in particular to his mission to the Patriarchs and Bishops of the East in 1840 (see *supra*, p. 41). He was consecrated in Westminster Abbey on St. Bartholomew's Day (August 24), 1842, by the Bishop of London (Dr. Blomfield), assisted by the Bishops of Winchester (Dr. Sumner), Rochester (Dr. Murray), Chichester (Dr. Gilbert), and Bishop Coleridge. He was installed at Gibraltar on November 6.

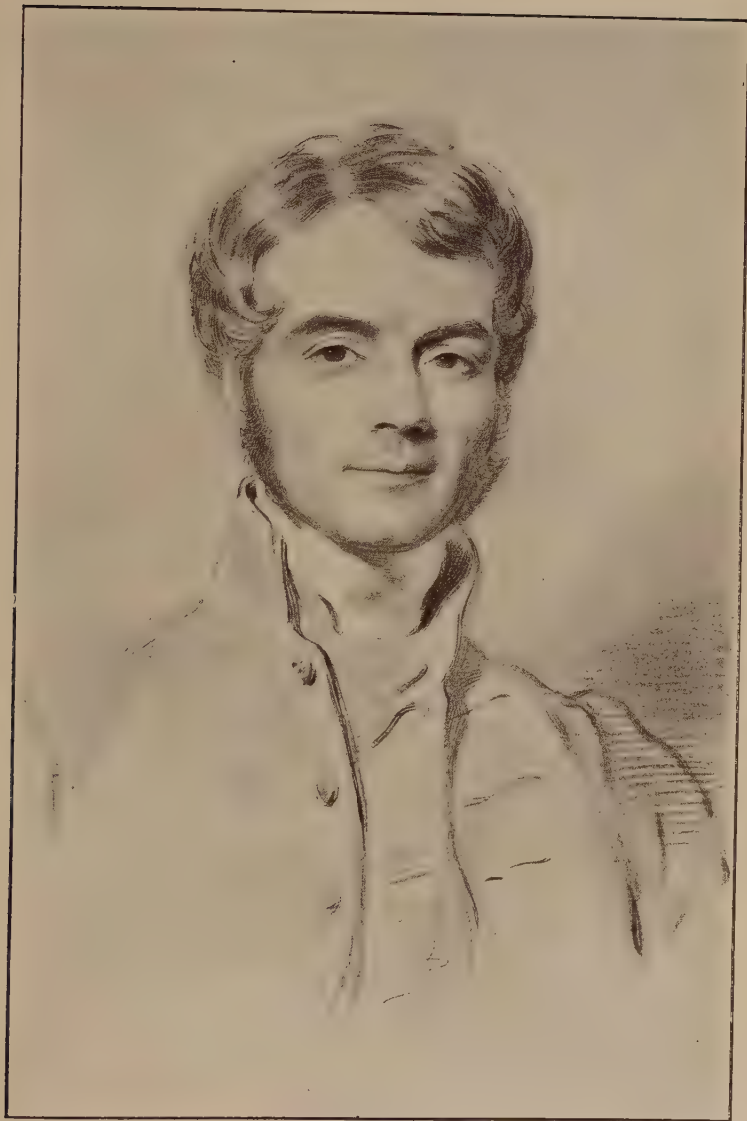
(1) *Condition of Church life in the Diocese, 1842*

It was indeed a strange and difficult charge which he was called to rule, and it may be doubted whether he was as well fitted to carry out as he was to plan work such as that of the new Diocese.* In 1842 there were 30 clergy at work within the limits of the jurisdiction prescribed.† But of these only the civil chaplains at Gibraltar and Malta, and the Chaplains at Trieste, Messina, Florence, Nice, Pisa, Athens, Constantinople and Smyrna—ten or eleven in all—were known in 1846 to be under the Bishop of Gibraltar.‡ The Government Chaplains at Gibraltar and Malta, Corfu and Cephalonia, numbering probably in all eight or ten, held no episcopal licence, and

* *C.Q.R.*, Jan., 1878, p. 359.

† Anderson, III. p. 715.

‡ Biber, 1846, pp. 72 ff.



GEORGE TOMLINSON, BISHOP OF GIBRALTAR, 1842—1863
(FROM A DRAWING IN THE POSSESSION OF THE SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING
CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE)

To face p. 50

were not under the jurisdiction of the new Bishop. Five other clergy were missionaries, three of them the C.M.S., and two of the L.J.S. and it is not known whether they were licensed by Bishop Tomlinson. Of the remainder, the chaplains at Genoa and Naples were under the Bishop of London, and those at Rome and Turin with the civil chaplain at Corfu officiated without episcopal licence.

Some idea of the clergy, chaplaincies, and congregations may be drawn from the particulars furnished to Dr. Biber in 1845-1846. The clergy were unsatisfactorily obtained, and their maintenance was insufficient and precarious. "There were without doubt," wrote Bishop Sandford of the days before 1842, "many clergy who were bright exceptions, and who strove both by their lives and teaching to uphold the dignity of their office : but the prevailing character of Continental chaplains became a byword and a reproach to the English Church." * A contributor to the *Colonial Church Chronicle* said with regard to the period before 1844 that "the ecclesiastical anomaly of the Church of England upon the Continent was grievously aggravated by the lawless appointments made to many foreign chaplaincies and by the still more lawless behaviour of some of the chaplains." † As an example of this the case of the Rev. E. Whitby may be quoted. This clergyman acted as chaplain at Nice from 1822 for about eight years apparently without either title or nomination. If the report of the state of things prevailing in N. and C. Europe made by the Rev. R. Burgess in 1850 after investigation carried out at the request of the Bishop of London, and the difficulties experienced by that Bishop for many years subsequently, give any indication of the condition of Church affairs in S. Europe which confronted Bishop Tomlinson in 1842, it is to be feared that many officiating clergy were unfit to be licensed, being either plausible adventurers or men burdened with debt or of scandalous life. ‡

There were churches permanently secured only at

* *C.Q.R.*, Jan., 1878, p. 353.

† *C.C.C.*, 1864, p. 201.

‡ *C.C.C.*, 1850, May, p. 435 ; 1862, p. 107.

Gibraltar, Malta, Trieste and Athens. Of these only the first was consecrated, and the consecration of that seems open to question. Elsewhere services were held in rooms or buildings of most diverse character, and great difficulty was frequently found in obtaining even these. The furniture for worship was mean to a degree. On everything connected with Church life the Hanoverian blight rested as heavily as on English parishes. Many communities were indifferent and apathetic. State aid and control had deadened interest and life. Congregations and churches were regulated not by Church membership, but by money qualifications. A charge for admission to service was sometimes made on those who were not recognized members of the congregation. Coherence between congregation and congregation there was none: they were "deficient in one essential characteristic of all true Church life, viz. membership with one another, and with that body at home from which they were offshoots." * Baptism was ordinarily ministered privately. Confirmation was unknown.

But there were some things which encouraged. The Holy Communion was in most chaplaincies celebrated once a month and on the Great Festivals. At Rome there was a weekly Celebration, and daily during Passion Week. Dr. Biber records that one-third of the congregations were communicants. Pastoral intercourse was general. In 1844-1845 the congregations at Rome, Athens, Nice and Valletta contributed £87 to the funds of S.P.G.† The spirit of the colonies was really religious, and there was genuine attachment to the Church of England. All congregations considered themselves episcopal, though there was in truth little that was episcopal in them.

A Bishop's presence was desired chiefly that he might minister Confirmation, but episcopal authority and discipline were unknown and even undesired. In spite of the F.O. circular of 1842 the Archbishop of Canterbury found it necessary in 1850 to issue a Circular *Pastoral* Letter to the Clergy and Congregations of the Church of England and Ireland under the spiritual superintendence of the Bishop of

* Biber (1846), p. 18.

† Biber (1846), pp. 73 ff.

Gibraltar. After reciting that doubts had arisen as to the Bishop's jurisdiction and the obedience due to him in countries not subject to Her Majesty, and referring to the Foreign Office Circular of 1842, the Archbishop declared that the Clergy and congregations in the aforesaid countries were bound in conscience to pay the same obedience to the Bishop of Gibraltar as was due to a Diocesan Bishop in England.* This Pastoral Letter implies that in some chaplaincies and congregations the new Bishop's authority was questioned, and that he experienced difficulty in obtaining due recognition and support. A letter of 1854 speaks of "coarse and unlooked for obstructions put in the Bishop's way by those of whom better things might have been expected," and of his failure to secure more than two or three additional clergy.†

It is somewhat hard to realize the position in which the congregations and chaplaincies stood with regard to the civil and religious law of the land, excepting in the Levant and the East. There the old traditions of the Levant Company had secured liberty and ease. But in the Roman Catholic countries much was most trying as to marriage and burial, and in particular as to securing places of worship, and an adequate degree of religious liberty. The restrictions placed by the different governments as to both worship and the character of places of worship (which will appear more fully in later pages) accounted in large measure for the meanness of our churches and church-rooms. And it must be added that while the general acceptance and use of the term "Protestant" by members of our Church abroad greatly affected their own idea of their Church and compromised its claim and dignity, it also disposed the finest and most truly religious element of the peoples among whom they dwelt to identify the Church of England with movements which they regarded as intrusive, revolutionary, aiming at the disruption of their own Church, and too often plainly irreligious and subversive of all spiritual order.

* This account of the Pastoral of 1850 is taken from a MS. of Bishop Collins. It has not been possible to consult a copy of the document itself.

† C.C.C., 1854, Aug., p. 62.

It is to be remembered that in facing these conditions the Bishop had not the aid of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Though that Society contributed generously towards the establishment of the See, it did not resume its pristine activity on the Continent during Bishop Tomlinson's episcopate. The Colonial and Continental Church Society (founded 1823) began to subsidise local chaplaincies in 1839-1840.

For some reason unknown the new Bishop pledged himself to reside from six to eight months in each year in Gibraltar or Malta, and this long residence was usually spent in Malta.* It might have been expected that in these British possessions his work and position would have been comparatively easy. But though in the course of twenty years his presence and influence effected a great improvement in the condition of Church affairs, there was in both colonies much at first that was trying and depressing, especially in Gibraltar. Here the fact that the garrison with the Government chaplains and chapels was independent of the Bishop's jurisdiction made him write that in the face of the military chaplains his office was "a perfect shadow."† The chapel built in 1825-1832 by the Government, the dock surveyor being architect, was created a Cathedral in 1842. It had been consecrated (under description in Garrison Orders as "the Garrison Church," and in the *Gibraltar Chronicle* as "the Protestant Church") on October 17, 1838, by Dr. Burrow, the Civil Chaplain, under a warrant (dated June 13) issued by the Archbishop authorizing him to carry out the consecration.‡ The church, Moorish in style and spacious, had no ecclesiastical pretensions, and little to uplift a worshipper. All the Bishop's attempts to improve it were resisted for some years, and he was even obliged to be responsible himself for debt incurred in making the interior more convenient. It was served by the civil chaplain, who was also Archdeacon, and who in a general way presided over the civil interest. On Sunday evening the Church prayers were read in Spanish. The

* S., 1884, p. 44 ; 1887, p. 24.

† S. 1884, p. 44.

‡ A.C.M., 1909, Nov. The documents are preserved in Gibraltar.

civilians, having been without church or chaplain from 1704 to 1832 had, with few exceptions, none of the hereditary love of English people for their church, her use and services ; and there was no call made for personal sacrifice on her behalf. The Government paid the Archdeacon £400 a year, and in return let the pews in the Church, the proceeds going into the colonial chest. The nominal Roman Catholics in the city numbered over 10,000. The Vicar-Apostolic had 10 clergy, and increased them for purposes of proselytizing. The civil British population numbered about 1500, and was divided between the Church of England, Wesleyans, and the Free Church of Scotland. There were many Jews, and no fewer than five synagogues on the Rock.*

At Malta there was but one civilian chaplain under the Bishop's jurisdiction. But the position was easier for two reasons. The fine new Church of St. Paul, Valletta, was under the Bishop entirely, and was built under his supervision ; and owing to the very inadequate spiritual provision made for the troops, he was able to take a regular share in the ordinary work of ministering to them. But the recognition of the Roman Catholic Church was of a nature calculated to be felt—as it still is—by an Anglican bishop ; and Dr. Tomlinson's position in both Gibraltar and Malta made him feel ill at ease as Bishop of a Diocese.

(2) *Bishop Tomlinson's Ministrations*

Of Bishop Tomlinson's actual visitations, and of his dealing with his congregations during his twenty years' tenure of the See little is at present known. The pledge of long residence at Malta and Gibraltar must have seriously hindered his gaining personal knowledge of his scattered flocks. He appears to have kept it usually in the winter months ; and then, as now, all communities are depleted during the heat of summer. In 1843 he visited Athens to consecrate, on Palm Sunday, the Church built in 1841 ; † Smyrna, where, on April 23, he consecrated the Consular Chapel belonging to

* C.C.C., 1849, July, p. 22 ; Nov., p. 88.

† Print in possession of the Bishop ; and S., 1890, p. 35.

the old buildings of the Levant Company (see p. 15) ; Trieste, where he held a confirmation, and consecrated on June 4 a "church" built in 1830 ; * and Messina, where he held a confirmation.† Later in the year he consecrated, on August 20, in Oporto, St. James' Church, which had been built in 1756.‡ This was probably under commission from the Bishop of London, as the congregations in Portugal were not transferred to the jurisdiction of Gibraltar until 1869. In 1844 he held confirmations in Rome and Florence (where there were forty-five candidates).§ On All Saint's Day in that year he consecrated the large "Collegiate" Church of St. Paul, Valletta, built at a cost of £20,000 by Queen Adelaide, who had wintered in Malta 1838-1839. The Queen intended the Church "for the worship of Almighty God, the accommodation of the Protestant inhabitants of the island of Malta, and her Majesty's land and sea forces employed there." She had greatly desired the foundation of the See, and had hoped that the church would become the Cathedral of the Diocese, as indeed the Bishop regarded it. It will be remembered that the declaration of 1841 (see *supra*, p. 42) contemplated Valletta as the future See-city, but that later, for certain civil and ecclesiastical reasons, Gibraltar took its place. The new Church, owing to the Governor's objection, was in 1844 styled not "Cathedral" but "Collegiate Church"—a prefix which Bishop Harris called "unaccountable," and which was meaningless until 1911, when Bishop Collins connected with it a College of Honorary Canons (see *infra*, p. 193).||

In 1846 he visited Malaga, and consecrated there the cemetery acquired in 1830 by the efforts of the Consul, Mr. W. Mark, an indefatigable son of the Church, who later secured the establishment of a consular chaplaincy there in 1850.¶ On June 2 in this year he consecrated the new Church of the Holy Trinity, in Florence,** which has since

* So Return made to Dr. Biber (pp. 73 f.) ; but see *infra*, p. 67.

† Biber, p. 76. ‡ Seller's *Oporto New and Old*, pp. 41, 91.

§ Biber, pp. 73, 77.

|| S.. 1879, pp. 22 ff. ; 1896, p. 60 ; 1898, p. 37 ; C.C.C., 1869, p. 7.

¶ C.C.C., 1849, April, p. 381.

** The Deed of Consecration is preserved in the Church Archives. See Tassinari, *History of the English Church in Florence*, pp. 57 f.

been so admirably transformed by Mr. Bodley. In 1847 the Bishop was at Patras, where there was no chaplain, and spent Easter at Corfu, where there was no place of worship.* In 1854 he held an ordination in St. Paul's, Valletta, ordaining a priest for Smyrna and two deacons.† In that year, during the Crimean War, the Bishop visited the British Expeditionary Force at Scutari, and on May 20 confirmed 302 men, and communicated on the next day between 300 and 400 men of the Force. In a letter addressed to the S.P.C.K. from Pera he described the moving scenes, and in the same letter outlined a plan for building an English Church at Constantinople, of which our Crimean Memorial Church is the outcome.‡ The visit to Scutari was repeated in 1855 to consecrate the burial-ground there. He consecrated the present Church of the Holy Trinity (and its burial-ground) at Nice on December 22, 1862. Bishop Harris states that he consecrated a little church-room at Syra, and a burial-ground at Tripoli, but without giving dates.§ Of the Bishop's other travel no particulars are at present available.

(3) *The Church of England at Constantinople; the Crimean Memorial Church*

The interest of English Churchmen of this time was centred beyond all question in the Eastern portion of the Diocese, and in particular in Constantinople. The Crimean War served to heighten attention already aroused. It will be remembered that one of the objects of the foundation of the See was the maintenance and increase of communication with the bishops of the ancient Churches of the East. In 1847 the Bishop of Gibraltar was described as "not only superintending our congregations along the Mediterranean," but as "being the authentic expositor of the creed of our

* C.C.C., 1847, Dec., p. 215; 1848, May, p. 411. There is some evidence (not beyond question) that he consecrated in 1844 the church room at Pisa, and in 1846 that at Bagni di Lucca, and Bishop Spencer of Madras Christ Church, Cannes, on December 27, 1855.

† *G. D. Gazette*, Jan., 1914, p. 73. ‡ *Guardian*, June 21, 1854.

§ C.C.C., 1865, p. 4; 1870, pp. 175, 296.

Church to the long-neglected Churches of the East," and as "considering this not his least important function." * Constantinople, as the seat of the Œcumenical Patriarch, was thus naturally a focus of interest. But there were other points in connexion with Constantinople that gradually enforced the concern of English Churchmen from 1850 onwards. The American Church sent Bishop Southgate on an embassy to the Oriental Churches, and from his activity began much American religious and philanthropic enterprise in teaching and hospitals. In this not only Episcopalians but also Independents played a great part; and these were followed by Scotch, English, and Irish Dissenters through the Turkish Missions Aid Society. At the same time the poverty of our provision there for our own people was revealed. In the Embassy, rebuilt at a cost of £70,000, no corresponding care for a worthy chapel was shown; and a church independent of the Embassy was required both for our own merchants and also to represent our Church to the Greek Church. And yet further, no witness of our faith was borne to Mohammedans. "I have heard," wrote a correspondent to the *Colonial Church Chronicle*, "that the Turks have been in the habit of saying of the English lately that they have no Priest, no Church, no Religion. And really there are a great number of English merchants who seem to have lost all interest in religion. Sometimes they have been for months together without even the possibility of partaking of the means of grace. And yet we have prayed for Turks every Good Friday for 300 years." † It was urged that we needed a large and worthy church and a school with a missionary Bishop and a staff of clergy, to prosecute active missionary work, and to enter into friendly relations with Oriental Bishops, so that the Anglican Church would be really represented in Constantinople dealing with Greeks and Latins as a church, and refusing to be "swamped in a crude Protestantism." ‡ At the same time the Roman Church taking advantage of the weakness of the Eastern Communion became aggressively active. A "physical torrent of monks,

* C.C.C., 1847, Dec., p. 230 n.

† C.C.C., 1850, Oct., pp. 139 ff.

‡ C.C.C., 1855, Nov., p. 177; Dec., p. 240.



THE CRIMEAN MEMORIAL CHURCH, CONSTANTINOPLE
BUILT 1858-1868

priests, and sisters" flowed eastward to induce acknowledgment of the supremacy of the Pope. An Encyclical Epistle by the Orthodox Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, and twenty-nine Bishops was called out by this aggression. There can be little doubt of the reality of the Roman effort, though some years later both the propaganda and its success was denied.*

In the face of this open door the Church of England seemed to be "only preparing" while Rome was at work. While the Roman Church shewed herself at her best in England, we shewed ourselves at our worst at our work abroad, looking on with quiet indifference while our own people starved, and the Eastern wondered that no helping hand against Rome was held out to the Greek and Armenian Churches. It was asked somewhat indignantly what the new Bishopric had done for our people, the Greek Church, Islam, or the Jews, to justify itself or the expenditure of £30,000 on its foundation.†

The Bishop's letter to S.P.C.K. of May 22, 1854, from Constantinople broached the idea of a Crimean Memorial Church. As the proposal was considered, the purpose was widened, and ultimately the church was designed to fulfil a fourfold aim: to serve as a Memorial of the War; to be a worthy presentation of the English Church and centre of spiritual life for the English residents; to be the seat of a Church Mission to the Turks; and the centre of growing communication with the Greek Church. The collection of required funds for a noble church necessarily took time; but the delay at least served to make clear each point of the purpose of the church; and the foundation-stone was laid on October 19, 1858. Actual building was not, however, begun for many years, as stone had to be brought from Malta, and skilled workmen, employing natives under them, from England,‡ and consequently the church was not consecrated till ten years later. It is much to be regretted that the first

* C.C.C., 1856, June, pp. 441 ff.; Nov., p. 183; 1862, Dec., p. 467.

† C.C.C., 1852, Nov., p. 173; 1854, Aug., p. 62; 1855, Nov., p. 161; 1856, April, p. 391.

‡ S., 1896, p. 65.

point mentioned above was suffered to overshadow all others, both in the appeal made in the public Meeting in London, on April 28, 1856, and in the speech made by Lord Stratford de Redcliffe on the occasion of the laying of the foundation-stone; and even Bishop Harris, in the sermon preached when the church was consecrated on October 22, 1868, though he dwelt on the functions of the church as to our own people, the Orthodox Communion and the Armenian Church omitted to make any reference to its being the heart and centre of a Mission to Islam. But it is clear that the church was by many contributors intended to initiate a Mission with a fixed and resolute purpose and clear idea, to the success of which its independence of the Embassy was expected to contribute.*

But everything did not wait for the great church, for the erection of which S.P.G. opened a fund. In the course of 1855 that Society came into action, and on November 15, in view of the fact that the Embassy chaplain was occupied with his own peculiar duties, while the number of British residents, sailors, shipping agents and temporary residents was greatly increased, resolved to send two chaplains to Pera to minister to them. Early in 1856 the Rev. C. G. Curtis proceeded to Constantinople, where he was destined to labour till his death in 1896, and he was joined a little later by the Rev. C. P. Tiley. In June, 1856, Mr. Curtis wrote, "I am obliged to assure you that we are sadly behind the time; our backwardness is the subject of general rebuke and astonishment, and the character of both Church and nation is at stake." On Whitsunday a little English Church holding 120 persons, the first Anglican Church in European Turkey, was opened at Ortaköy on the Bosphorus, the Bishop of Gibraltar to be Diocesan of its congregation. Mr. Curtis and Mr. Tiley at once began work, opening a Mission Chapel with daily services, and a school, and ministering in the Sailors' Home, the hospital, and the gaol. On Trinity Sunday, 1858, the first Mussulman was baptized in the Mission Chapel. By October, 1859, Mr. Curtis had begun services in Turkish, and was himself able to preach in the vernacular. In this year the congregation was about sixty, while the day-school numbered

* C.C.C., 1856, June, pp. 441 ff., 480; 1858, p. 461; 1868, p. 481.

over fifty. In 1860 the Bishop ordained Mr. Antonio Tien, a nephew of the late Patriarch of the Maronites of Mount Lebanon, a student of St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, to be attached to the S.P.G. Mission. There was thus considerable Anglican work going on while the church was building; and there can be no question that the hand of Bishop Tomlinson was behind it, if he were not himself actually on the scene.* Further progress, and difficulties, will appear in the record of the next episcopate.

(4) *The Spiritual Condition of the English in Spain*

Besides the East much attention at the time was directed to the spiritual destitution of English people in Spain. Until 1869 (and more definitely 1874; see p. 111) the English congregations of the eastern sea-coast only of Spain were under the supervision of the Bishop of Gibraltar. But in view of the future, some notice of matters in Spain must be given here.

When the Bishopric of Gibraltar was established, although trading communities, dating from the early seventeenth century, fringed the eastern coast of Spain at Barcelona, Tarragona, Valencia, Denia, Alicante, Murcia, Cartagena, and Malaga, there was not a single Anglican chaplaincy in Spain, not even in the British Embassy at Madrid. This was due not alone to British indifference, though to that in part; it was largely due to Spanish intolerance. In the Report of September 22, 1851, of Lord Howden, the British Minister at Madrid, it is stated: "By the law of the land, there is but one religion professed in Spain—the Roman Catholic, and no other form of worship is tolerated; therefore, until this law, which is declared also in the constitution of the country, is modified, no facility for the establishment of Protestant places of worship can be given." A Royal Decree (Madrid, November 17, 1852) said, "No foreigner shall be able to *profess* in Spain any other religion than the Catholic Apostolic Roman religion." A letter of the Spanish

* C.C.C., 1855, Dec., p. 219; 1856, July, p. 35; 1860, pp. 159; 281, 287 footnote.

Minister of Foreign Affairs to the British Minister (Madrid, May 24, 1853), in reference to a cemetery, declared "No chapel, or any other sign of a temple, or of public or private worship, will be allowed to be built in the aforesaid cemetery. All such acts which can give any indications of the performance of divine worship whatsoever are prohibited. In the conveyance of dead bodies to the burial any pomp or publicity shall be avoided." As late as the summer of 1858, after a service for English people employed on a railway, held by a clergyman in the private house of an Englishman in North Spain, the master of the house received on the following day an intimation that such acts in the house of any British subject, being "public and impudent," would lead, if repeated, to repression and punishment. In 1860 the British Consul at Barcelona forbade a grant of Bibles and Prayer-books from S.P.C.K. for British workmen to be sent from England as being contraband. All this will show what patience and tact is implied in Mr. Mark's securing a British Cemetery at Malaga in 1850. It was not until December, 1859, that a chaplain was appointed at the British Embassy at Madrid.

The matter received attention in England from 1849, and some effort was made to secure permission for our communities to have chaplains and chapels. Lord Howden's Report of 1851, quoted above, appears to have ended the concern of the Foreign Office for some time. But in the autumn of 1859, owing to the account of the religious starvation of our colonies everywhere in Spain, save at Malaga, given by the Rev. A. J. D'Orsey, who in that year had visited Malaga, Almeria, Cartagena, Alicante, Valencia and Barcelona, an appeal was made to the Bishops of London and Gibraltar, and Lords Palmerston and John Russell. Bishop Tomlinson at once gave Mr. D'Orsey his support, appointed him "Missionary Chaplain to the English in Spain," and took a leading part in launching "The Church of England Mission to the English in Spain, and to the English Sailors in Spanish Ports" in January, 1860. It was intended that the Mission should employ an experienced itinerating clergyman, and should organize, if possible, permanent chap-

laincies " to serve " the thousands of our countrymen *resident* in Spain, as agents, engineers, miners, founders and navvies, or *occasional visitors*, as tourists, invalids, masters of vessels, and sailors." It was stated that it was " hoped that there would be no opposition from the Spanish authorities, if the chaplains restricted their labours to their own people ; and that one great obstacle to the successful working of foreign chaplaincies had arisen from the attempt made to proselytize." " We need hardly say," adds the Appeal for the Mission, " that when we claim liberty of action for the Church of England abroad, it is simply in order that she may minister *to her own children* ; and that we disclaim *in toto* any attempt to interfere with the people of another communion."

For a time little encouragement was forthcoming, owing to the indifference and nervousness of our colonies and the political relations of the day. The Foreign Office stated in 1861 that British subjects must conform to the law of Spain, though a general assurance was given that the Government would " at all times use their influence with the Spanish Government, with a view of obtaining liberty of worship for British subjects." The case was made still more difficult by the action of a certain active and influential section of Churchmen at home, who, in combination with Presbyterians, Methodists, and others had been trying for some time, by an extensive diffusion of tracts, to bring about a religious reformation in Spain ; and indiscreet action in the country itself on the part of English clergy (some of whom belonged to the Colonial and Continental Church Society and were openly charged " with trying to convert the natives of the country," while their ministrations had not the Bishop of Gibraltar's licence or his sanction of such propaganda efforts) added to the trouble and darkened the prospect.

Such was the position in this quarter of the Diocese at the Bishop's death. It was long before it was materially improved.* And yet, in spite of all its distress, it was not without fruit. It served to define for the Diocese of Gibraltar and its Bishop the only clear and catholic line of duty

* C.C.C., 1849, Apr., p. 381 ; May, p. 423 ; 1850, May, p. 422 ; 1860, p. 1 ; 1862, pp. 201, 241, 307 ; C.Q.R., Jan., 1878, p. 360.

towards the unreformed churches—to carry on work which is constructive, positive, instructive, irenical, and not destructive, polemical, and negative; to take full and charitable account of both the shortcomings of our own Church, and of the fact that the very word “Protestantism” is odious to many loyal children of other churches; and to aim steadfastly at the exclusion of suspicion, jealousy, recrimination and proselytism whether direct or indirect, and at the vindication of the Catholicity of the Church of England in whole-hearted loyalty and love.

The effect of Bishop Tomlinson’s episcopate cannot be rightly estimated apart from those of at least the next two Bishops. It will therefore be right to defer the attempt to view it till later. He died at Malta on February 6, 1863. He was nearly 69 years of age. His body rests in the Ta Braxia Cemetery.

NOTE.—Since these pages were printed “A charge delivered to the Clergy of the Diocese and Jurisdiction of Gibraltar at the Visitation held in the English Collegiate Church of St. Paul, Malta, December 28, 1844, by George, Lord Bishop of Gibraltar. Malta, 1845 (p. 46),” has been brought to light. It adds nothing to our knowledge, save as to the position taken by the Bishop. “We no longer present ourselves to the notice of the Churches of the Mediterranean as isolated chaplains or missionaries, but as a regularly organized Diocese of the Church of England. . . . You are, therefore, to consider yourselves a legitimate portion of the province of Canterbury, and are to be governed by the same ecclesiastical laws as the rest of that province. . . . Our own proper work is in the congregations of our own people. We are not responsible before God for the souls of those whom He . . . has committed to the care of others. . . . We are bound to uphold the Truth, and to declare it fully both to Churches and to individual Christians. We are also bound, both by the general laws of the Church and by the principle laid down by our own Metropolitan, not to intermeddle with the rightful Jurisdiction of the Bishops and Clergy of the countries where we dwell.”

The Bishop traces steps leading to the establishment of the Bishopric; urges need of religious instruction of the young, and of study of the Prayer-Book and its offices; also of care in admitting to Communion qualified persons not members of the Church of England. He refers to his own Mission in 1840; to the many English in Spain and N. Africa without a single chaplain, and says that he has commenced the formation of a Diocesan Fund for provision of chaplains and missionary purposes, to which objects the English Church at Oporto has already contributed liberally. The Charge gives no statistics as to clergy, congregations, or churches, or of the Bishop’s own activities 1842-1844.



WALTER JOHN TROWER. BISHOP OF GIBRALTAR, 1863—1868
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CHAPTER VI

THE EPISCOPATE OF BISHOP TROWER, 1863-1868

DR. WALTER JOHN TROWER, second Bishop of Gibraltar, was born April 5, 1804. He was educated at Eton and Christ Church, Oxford ; and after graduating with distinction in 1826 was elected Fellow of Oriel in 1828. He intended to follow law as his profession ; but the influence of Samuel Wilberforce led him to seek Holy Orders. He had already considerable episcopal experience before his nomination to the See of Gibraltar. From 1848 till 1859 he was Bishop of Glasgow* ; during 1859-1860 he acted as Bishop for N. and C. Europe under Bishop Tait of London ; and during 1860-1863 he assisted the aged Bishop Phillpotts of Exeter. The Letters Patent of his appointment acknowledged his Scotch episcopal consecration to be canonical ; and in accordance with a demand in them he received on September 24, 1863, in Addington Church "due and Canonical mission" as Bishop of Gibraltar from Archbishop Longley. He was declared to be "Bishop and Ordinary of English Congregations, etc.," and in the sentence of Consecration of St. Mary Magdalene Church, Bournabat, he spoke of his authority as "Ordinary and Episcopal."

(1) *Bishop Trower's ministrations and travel*

Of his Episcopate, save from the pages of the *Colonial Church Chronicle*, little record is available. Only four entries are made in the Bishop's Register (see *supra*, p. 48). No

* Consecrated Sept. 21, 1848, by the Bishops of Aberdeen (Dr. Skinner), Edinburgh (Dr. Terrot), Argyll (Dr. Ewing) and Brechin (Dr. Forbes).

Confirmation Lists or Diaries are known ; and apparently none of his official correspondence has survived.

Like his predecessor, he pledged himself to reside for six or eight months in each year at Gibraltar or Malta. This in his case also hampered his obtaining much personal knowledge of the British colonies, excepting such as gained by his visitation tours of 1864 and 1867. Travelling moreover was not easy for a man of his proportions. Like Bishop Tomlinson, he found his office and position at Malta and Gibraltar "a shadow" in the face of the military chaplains, who were not within his jurisdiction.* To Malta he was much attached ; and when, in 1865, St Julian's College (the large schoolroom of which had been used for Sunday Services) was closed, he appealed at once for funds to build a Church in Sliema and gave £1000 himself to it. The result was the beautiful little Church of Holy Trinity. The Bishop consecrated it on Easter Tuesday, 1867. Later he bequeathed to the Bishop, as a Bishop's residence, the adjoining house and garden.† To St. Paul's, Valletta, he presented a valuable library of theological and classical books, still preserved in the Church, for the use of the clergy of the Diocese.

The Bishop's Visitation Tour of 1864-1865 was the first of its kind of which we have any details. Owing probably to the exigencies of residence in Malta it was carried out during the summer, when the English communities in South Europe are generally much reduced in numbers. Unfortunately, the account of it given in the *Colonial Church Chronicle* contains very few dates, although it is full of notes of interest touching the colonies visited and ministrations in them.‡

He began at Messina, on April 20 (service in a room : chaplain resident : stipend scanty and difficult). Thence he went, on April 25, to Athens (English Chapel), Syra, where he found a small building with one room consecrated as a church by Bishop Tomlinson, and a C.M.S. chaplain at work, and Smyrna, Boudjah, and Bournabat. Here the

* S., 1884, p. 44. "

† C.C.C., 1866, p. 141 ; 1867, p. 262. S., 1880, p. 45.

‡ C.C.C., 1865, pp. 2 ff. ; 50 ff. ; 124 ff. ; 183 ff.

English Church was in "a decidedly prosperous and flourishing condition." At Smyrna the Consulate Chapel was consecrated. At Boudjah a house had been purchased and adapted as a chapel in 1839, and at Bournabat Mr. Whittall had built "a most substantial and costly chapel," which the Bishop consecrated on Whit Monday, noting the warm attachment of the colony to the Church of England. Here also was a C.M.S. station. May 18 found him at Constantinople. The Crimean Memorial Church was not yet ready for consecration. Ten clergy were at work in harmony together—the Embassy Chaplain, four Clergy of S.P.G., three of the C.M.S., and one each of the London Jews Society and of the Colonial Church and School Society. On St. Barnabas' Day ten Turks were confirmed in the S.P.G. Mission Chapel. Of an important interview with the Armenian Patriarch some account will be given later. During July the Bishop visited Galatz, where he consecrated a cemetery; Constanza, where his services were coldly received; and Vienna, as Commissary for the Bishop of London. He then spent two Sundays at Trieste, where he consecrated the church,* and visited Fiume, where the chaplain of Trieste held service once a quarter. Thence he passed into Italy—to Venice (service held in the chaplain's house), Milan (chapel), Turin (services held in a "poor school-room"), Genoa (£2000 collected for a church), Leghorn (church), Pisa, Bagni di Lucca, Florence and Spezia. It was now the end of September. Passing by Rome † as there were few English in residence and the chaplain was absent, the Bishop went on to Naples, where

* But see p. 55.

† "It is well known that it has always been a question whether or not the English Chapel at Rome is within the (intended) jurisdiction of the Bishop of Gibraltar. It is included in the copy given to the late and present Bishops of the places mentioned in the circular of Lord Aberdeen, on the erection of the See; but it seemed that the circular was never actually received by the Consul at Rome. The question was referred to the late Archbishop of Canterbury and the law-officers of the Crown, and decided by those authorities against the Bishop of Gibraltar's claim to be regarded as diocesan. The present Bishop would willingly visit the chapel at any time, without formal recognition of his diocesan authority (as Commissary for the Bishop of London)." Bishop Trower : C.C.C., 1865, p. 185.

the new church was being built on the site granted by Garibaldi when "Dictator," the grant being made good later by the King of Italy; thence to Palermo (service in the Consulate) and Messina, where the chaplain was ministering to English operatives employed on the railway to Catania.

Thus the visitation ended. It is needless to say that at most of the places where he called he held Confirmations.

In his summary the Bishop dwells on the following points: (1) The welcome given to him everywhere, and the fact that the English settled congregations in Italy were generally in a satisfactory state; (2) the need of greater independence being accorded to the chaplains in conformity with the principles of the Church of England; (3) the indifference to any service but that of the morning, and the poorness of the collections; (4) the progress and character of the Italian Reformation. Of this more will be said hereafter.

Of other travel of the Bishop for the visitation of his chaplaincies little can be said. On March 11, 1865, he consecrated the fine new Christ Church at Naples * and on July 3 in the same year a burial-ground at Puerto S. Maria in Spain.† In 1867, soon after the destructive earthquake, he visited Corfu, Athens, and Patras where a collection for a church was being made.‡ But as yet there is no evidence that he was able to visit the Riviera and the Spanish congregations.

(2) *Resumption of work on the Continent by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel*

The power and resources of the Church in the Diocese received a welcome addition at the very beginning of Bishop Trower's episcopate by the action of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. It will be remembered that from about 1710 it had ceased to work on the Continent of Europe (see *supra*, p. 22). This was probably due to the rapid growth of the needs of the great colonies of the Crown in N. America and elsewhere. But the Crimean war had led to a call on its

* C. C. C., 1865, p. 149; where a list of gifts to the church is given,

† R., p. 60.

C.C.C., 1867, p. 262.

aid, in response to which it had sent no fewer than twenty-five chaplains to the camps and hospitals; and the building of the Crimean Memorial Church at Constantinople and the conduct of the Mission which was to gather round it, had aroused and deepened the concern of the Society for S. and S.E. Europe. The result was that in 1863 the Society "resumed its ancient care for the religious needs of British subjects on the Continent," appointed a committee consisting of many leading Churchmen to carry such care into effect, and appealed for a Special Fund for divers objects. These were, to encourage the erection of suitable churches, and to procure fit decently temporary places of worship; to supplement inadequate stipends of clergy; to facilitate season chaplaincies; to supply correct information regarding the principles of the Church of England; and to provide for the regular administration of Confirmation to English residents. Lest the last object should surprise, it ought to be said that the Bishop of London had appealed to the Society to do this.*

The resumption of work in S. Europe by the S.P.G. was of double importance. In the first place it began an activity, which, starting from Constantinople, has proved of increasing blessing to our people both in settled communities and the ever growing temporary communities of our people in search of health, art, and travel. In the years immediately following 1863 it prosecuted vigorously directly missionary work at Constantinople, and assisted effectively in providing ministrations for remote colonies such as those in Bulgaria, Roumania, and on the Danube, and for British seamen. It is much to be regretted that in time this adventuresomeness well-nigh vanished, and its aid was almost exclusively given to Riviera and Italian chaplaincies. Further, the Churchmanship of the members of this Society promised the presence of clergy who would definitely sympathize with the true Anglican position in the face of "reforming movements" in the Latin Church and the growing intercourse and understanding with the Eastern Churches, which the action of certain clergy in the Diocese tended somewhat to compromise.

* C.C.C., 1863, p. 307; 1864, p. 203.

(3) *Progress of Work of the Church of England at Constantinople*

The work of the S.P.G. Mission in Constantinople made rapid progress towards the end of Bishop Tomlinson's episcopate and in the beginning of Bishop Trower's, both in our trading community, and also among the Turks. In the Rev. C. G. Curtis, who laboured for nearly forty years in this charge, during the greater part of which time he was single-handed, the Diocese and Society had the finest of leaders. It has already been noted that when Bishop Trower visited Constantinople in 1864 he found no fewer than ten clergy there, of whom three, Mr. Curtis and two recently ordained Turkish clergy, converts from Islam, who had been trained at St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, were on the roll of the S.P.G., while three others were on that of the C.M.S. That Society had begun to work in the city in 1811 or shortly after. On the occasion of that visit, the Bishop confirmed ten Turks, and Turkish women (veiled) were present at that service for the first time. Up to that time the Turkish Government had acted liberally to the Mission. But the Confirmation seems to have given rise to exaggerated reports of the number of converts, and a sudden and violent persecution followed in violation of positive engagements on the subject of religious toleration. It is, however, stated by some that the disturbance was wholly unconnected with missionary work in Constantinople, and was really due to an extensive movement in one part of the Turkish Empire in the direction not of Christianity but of modification of ancient Mohammedan faith and custom. Mr. Curtis and Rev. E. Williams, another of the S.P.G. clergy, were arrested (but soon released) with some of the converts, and two of the latter were exiled. In spite of this all the confirmed remained steadfast in their faith. Direct missionary work now stopped; and since 1865, for lack of suitable native agents, has not been resumed. It is to be recorded that at a meeting of the *Moslem Mission Society*, on Nov. 5, 1866, Archdeacon Emery was able to announce that, thanks to the efforts of

Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, the liability to death which attended the conversion of a Turk had been removed, and that that statesman had succeeded in procuring a charter of religious freedom in Turkey.* The rest of his work, however, Mr. Curtis continued, conducting a school for many years, ministering as chaplain of Christ Church, and visiting communities on the shores of the Black Sea. And not least of his services was the constant maintenance of friendly intercourse with the heads of the Orthodox and Armenian Churches in Constantinople. His intimate knowledge of the East, and his linguistic gifts made him the valued interpreter of successive Bishops in their interviews with the Patriarchs. Later he was made Canon of Gibraltar, and died at Pera from sunstroke on Aug. 13, 1896—*nomen venerabile*.†

(4) *Relations with the Eastern Churches*

Bishop Trower diligently fostered the friendly relations with the heads of the Eastern Church which his predecessor had done so much to develop. During his visits to the near East in 1864 and 1867 he met the Patriarch and Bishops whenever possible—at Athens, Smyrna, Constantinople, Corfu, and Patras. The value of such frequent intercourse was shewn strikingly in 1864 when the Bishop met the Armenian Patriarch at Constantinople. It would appear that the American (Independent) missionaries had from 1840 addressed themselves especially to the promotion of reform in the Armenian Church, and that the Armenian congregation at Pera had fallen to a great degree under their control. As time went on, however, that congregation perceived that the Independent discipline and teaching did not meet their primitive and catholic standard, and they demanded a restoration of Liturgical worship and Episcopal government. This brought them to seek the advice of Bishop Tomlinson, who

* See Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of S.P.G.*, pp. 736-8 ; C.C.C., 1865, pp. 7, 50 ff., 124 ; 1866, p. 503 ; S., 1896, pp. 63 ff.

† For an account of his services to the Church and Diocese, see S., 1896, pp. 63 ff.

shortly before his death counselled them to prepare a reformed Armenian Liturgy. They asked him eventually in 1862 to admit them into his Diocese. The request was renewed to Bishop Trower on his visit to Constantinople in 1864, and he was inclined at first to accede to it. Before doing so, however, he consulted the Patriarch. But while appreciating greatly the Bishop's frankness and straightforwardness, the Patriarch objected in the strongest manner. He declared that no words could express the injury done to his flock by the Independent missionaries, who had treated them as idolaters and had sown seeds of strife in families; that if this congregation obtained their request, their example in seeking it would probably be followed by others; and that if the English Bishop received them he would inflict serious injury on that ancient Christian communion. Bishop Trower accordingly followed the Patriarch's wishes, though evidently with some reluctance. Although at the moment the Pera Armenian congregation may have suffered some hardship in consequence, it is manifest that the friendly relations which existed and the possibility of access of the Bishop to the Patriarch saved the Church of England from a great mistake, and from an act which would have laid on her the charge of a congregation which she could not really regulate or serve, and which would have certainly estranged the ancient Churches of the East, laying our own Church open to the accusation of proselytism and to a suspicion which would have been most difficult to remove.* As it is, "the Greek prelates," Bishop Trower writes, "do not seem to regard the presence of an Anglican Bishop in the East as an intrusion, but as the natural and legitimate consequence of the residence of Englishmen. Their theory of Episcopacy is that Dioceses are distinguished by race and nations, rather than by place."†

(5) *Movements of Religious Reform in Italy and Spain*

During this episcopate the spread of the craving for religious reform in Italy and Spain, especially in Italy, made

* C.C.C., 1865, pp. 2 ff., 50 ff., esp. 54-6; 1876, p. 262.

† C.C.C., 1865, p. 54.

it increasingly needful that the Church of England represented in S. Europe by the Bishop and Diocese of Gibraltar should adopt a clear, unequivocal and unchallengeable position. It 1864 considerable inquiry was made by enlightened Italians as to the faith and worship of our Church.* The movement of reform, which spread especially in Naples and Messina, and which was influenced to some considerable extent by Plymouth Brethren, was described by the Rev. J. Long, a C.M.S. Missionary, in 1865, as mischievous, "levelling everything, and building up nothing." It was impossible for English Churchmen to stand completely aloof from and indifferent to the desire for light spreading over Italy, and the disposition to return to those principles of primitive Christianity of which the Church of England is so true a representative. The S.P.C.K. had placed at the disposal of Bishop Tomlinson a grant in aid of promoting Christian knowledge in Italy, and now (1865) a fund was opened to promote internal reform in Italy by methods which would spread knowledge, especially of Holy Scripture, but would give no sanction to anything of the nature of proselytizing; and all use of the fund was to have the sanction of the Bishop of Gibraltar.† The Bishop's visitation tour of 1864-5 gave him the opportunity of gaining first-hand knowledge of the character and spread of the movement. He judged it to be real, and (in the South of Italy especially) satisfactory, though he did not anticipate any very great immediate results. In N. Italy he feared that the zealous efforts of various Presbyterian and dissenting sects occasioned a tendency to rush from one extreme to the other, and he recognized that the principles of our Church forbade the vehement aggressive action which the various Presbyterian sects were unscrupulously adopting, and justifying on principle.‡

The matter made increasing demands on the Bishop's attention. In the spring of 1866 he joined the Bishop of Pennsylvania, and the two Bishops had many interviews in the chief Italian cities from Naples to Messina with Italians seeking Church reform, and took much pains to form an

* C.C.C., 1865, p. 3.

† C.C.C., 1865, pp. 230-3.

‡ C.C.C., 1865, pp. 188 f.

accurate opinion upon the facts of the movement. In the end they had no doubt whatever that a desire existed for a Liturgical worship in the vernacular, and freed from the superstitions gradually introduced into the Church of Rome ; but they disclaimed all notion of reproducing in Italy a copy of the Anglican Liturgy. They believed that there was a widespread, though often vague, yearning for a return to primitive Catholicism, and that many of the clergy and laity desired to reform but not to destroy the ancient historical Church of Italy. Accordingly they jointly recommended to the Anglican and American Churches the rendering of such assistance as would promote knowledge of Scripture and give information calculated to "tend to a sound and sober Reformation of the Italian Church on a primitive Catholic basis," and also give support as to maintenance and means of ministration to such priests of undoubted moral and religious character as might, with their congregations, suffer for conscience' sake. The closing paragraph of the paper issued by the two Bishops from Milan in May, 1866, is noteworthy. They "hold that an indispensable condition of rendering assistance to this last object should be careful investigation on the spot, to ascertain that such religious services spring from a genuine and spontaneous desire on the part of the Italian clergy and laity, and that the sincerity of the desire should be attested by earnest native efforts to meet the needful expenses."* In consequence, an Anglo-American Committee was formed, to meet annually at Nice, of which both Bishops with several of the clergy of the Diocese of Gibraltar were members.† The movement, however, tended to take an ever more violent form ; and it is to be doubted if any adequate results followed the great labour this work entailed on Bishop Trower and his friends, save that it made clear the line and policy of the Diocese and its Bishops.

The advance of religious enlightenment in Spain forced

* For the text of the Memorandum see C.C.C., 1866, pp. 290, 291. The wisdom of this recommendation was emphatically pressed on the present writer by the late Bishop Wordsworth of Salisbury.

† C.C.C., 1867, p. 213.

itself on the Bishop's attention early in 1864, through the fact that a number of Spaniards, clerical and lay, took refuge in Gibraltar from a persecution which overtook them for professing opinions opposed to those of the dominant Romish faith. The foremost refugee had never conversed with a Protestant or read a Protestant book. The Bishop took the lead, on behalf of the Church of England, together with Archdeacon Sleeman, in meeting their wants and in establishing a House of Refuge. The need seems to have been transitory ; and the incident calls for record only as indicating the Bishop's readiness to sympathize with such sufferers in the cause of truth.*

Of Bishop Trower's work in his congregations little can be said. We have recorded his consecration of churches at Bournabat, Trieste, Naples and Sliema, and of cemeteries at Galatz and Puerto S. Maria. The annals of his successor show that the Riviera communities and their chaplaincies developed greatly during his episcopate ; but notes from him of the development are wanting. It appears that he was troubled by the officiating in the Diocese of unlicensed and discredited clergy ; for it was to put a stop to this scandal that in 1866 the Foreign Office, at the instance of our Church authorities, issued a Circular to Her Majesty's diplomatic representatives on the Continent, authorizing them to request the Governments to which they were accredited not to allow any person to officiate as a chaplain of the Church of England unless he could produce the licence of the Bishop of London or the Bishop of Gibraltar.†

It is a real loss that no advice from him concerning Church discipline and organization within the Diocese has come to knowledge. From the prominent part he took in the Lambeth Conference of 1867 it may be gathered that he was specially qualified to deal with this subject. It was he who drew up the Resolutions of the Committee of the Conference on the Colenso case, which were unanimously adopted by the Bishops. He was Chairman of the Committee on Missionary Bishoprics, some of the Resolutions of which refer specially to his own

* C.C.C., 1864, p. 176.

† S.C.P., 1884, p. 6.

Diocese. Resolution VII. which urges, with respect to the special case of Continental chaplaincies, that the various congregations of the Anglican Communion should be under one authority, whether of the English or American Church, is significant. So also is Resolution XIII., if we bear in mind that divers Societies (S.P.G., C.C.C.S. since 1839, C.M.S., and L.J.S. since 1829) were at work in it; "That, as a general rule, in conformity with Church Order, all Missionaries or Chaplains residing or engaged in the exercise of ministerial duty in the Diocese or District of a Colonial or Missionary Bishop, should be licensed by and subject to the authority of the said Bishop." In concluding Resolution XVI. and with it their Report the Committee say that "they can recommend no scheme which interferes with the canonical relation which subsists between a Bishop and his clergy." *

Bishop Trower gave up systematic work abroad in 1867, and resigned the See in 1868. In 1871 he became Rector of Ashington in Sussex, where he died on Oct. 24, 1877, and where his body was laid to rest. An eyewitness of his death records that "he seemed to take death as one of the appointed duties of life, *and of that day.*" † His pastoral diligence, the publication of three volumes of Devotional Comments on the Pentateuch (1875-7), and his vigorous opposition to the appointment of Dr. Temple as Bishop of Exeter, show that he was able to work to the end of his life.

* *Report of the Lambeth Conference*, 1867, pp. 130 ff. Resolution XVI. had special reference to the "subordination of Missionaries," and in particular to "*instructions received from those in authority at home.*" The Committee failed to understand what was meant by these words.

† See *G. D. Gazette*, Feb., 1914, pp. 94-96.

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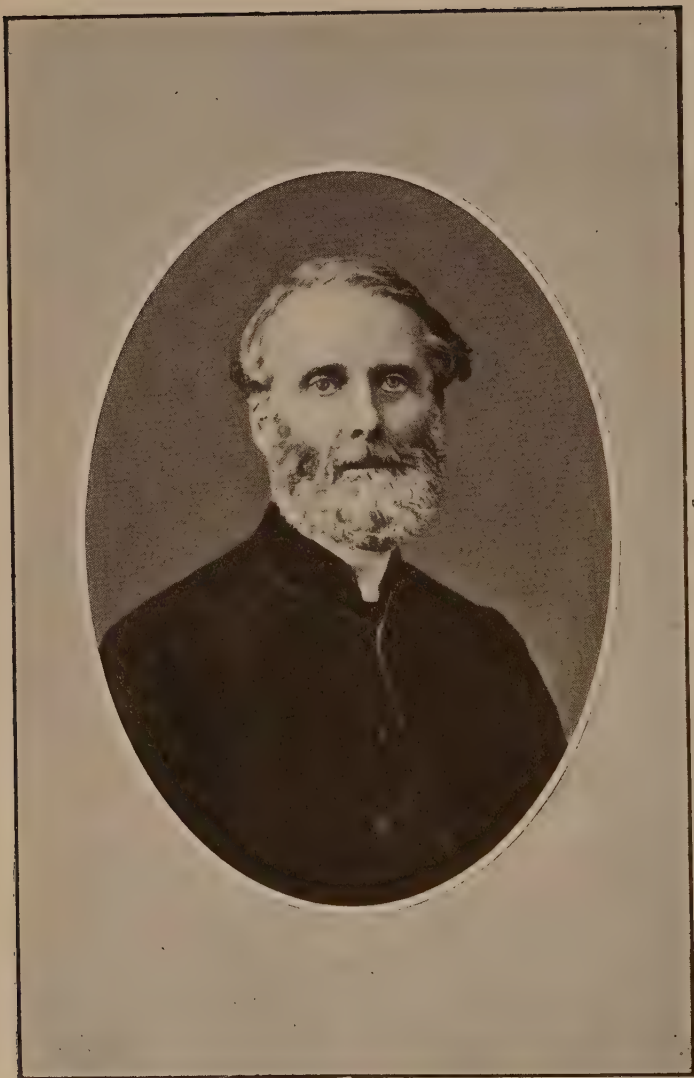
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CHARLES AMYAND HARRIS, BISHOP OF GIBRALTAR, 1868—1873

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CHAPTER VII

THE EPISCOPATE OF BISHOP HARRIS, 1868-1873

(1) *Personal Notes of Bishop Harris*

THE third Bishop, the Hon. Charles Amyand Harris, was the third and youngest son of the 2nd Earl of Malmesbury. He was born on August 4, 1813. He was a graduate of Oriel, and a Fellow of All Souls' 1835-1837. His ministerial life in England was, save for his incumbency of Rownhams in the Diocese of Winchester 1855-1863, spent in the Diocese of Sarum. After a curacy at Shaftesbury he was Rector of Wilton from 1840 to 1848, and the fine church there was built by Lord Pembroke during his incumbency. After a period of ill-health and his tenure of Rownhams, he returned to his old Diocese as Vicar of Bremhill and Archdeacon of Wilts in 1863. He was throughout his life greatly attached to this Diocese.* He was Prebendary of Salisbury from 1841, and one of Bishop Hamilton's examining chaplains. In 1863 the See of Gibraltar was offered to him, but declined on account of the delicacy of his wife. After her death he accepted it when offered again in 1868. He was consecrated in Canterbury Cathedral on May 1, 1868, by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Longley) and the Bishops of Winchester (Dr. Wilberforce) and Rochester (Dr. Claughton), and Bishop Trower. The sermon was preached by the Rev. T. T. Carter of Clewer. He was installed at Gibraltar on May 24.

The personal character of the Bishop, his zealous pastoral

* In recording the consecration of the cemetery at Galatz (Sept. 25, 1869), he writes, "The service was that used in Sarum Diocese, from which I love to draw my Episcopal traditions."—C.C.C., 1870, p. 177.

instincts, charm of manner and Christian cheerfulness, even playfulness, greatly endeared him in all quarters, while his intimacy with Bishop Wilberforce and Bishop Hamilton, and his experience as parish priest and archdeacon specially qualified him for dealing with the needs of his Diocese, which was far from being the "easy and popular Bishopric" of one of his obituary notices. One who knew him well noted his constant travel, and the minute care and close personal interest with which he tended his flock, with the result of "the waking up of spiritual life in many a desert place, the winning of hearts, and the stamping of a new character on the Episcopal office in his Diocese." He was perhaps by temperament more able than his predecessors to bear the limitation of a position under Letters Patent. Though he felt, both in Gibraltar and Malta, his legal ecclesiastical status to be "unreal," and his *rights* to be few, yet his experience of the universal respect for his office on the part of both clergy (including the military chaplains) and laity was such as to make him feel that he had a "far broader and pleasanter foundation than that of *right* to rest upon," and that such recognition afforded "opportunities of moral influence such as no mere 'Establishment' rank could of itself secure."* As both earlier Bishops, he was fond of Malta, although (as will appear) he was not resident there for long periods, as they were. He always left it with regret until the end of his last stay, when he suffered from "a most depressing fever"; and it was his prompt and sagacious generosity which secured the land at Sliema which is now a much valued endowment of Holy Trinity Church.

(2) *Extension of the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Gibraltar*

The first extension of the jurisdiction of the Bishopric took place during Bishop Harris' episcopate. In 1869 the question (made possible by the wording of the Letters Patent setting out the range of his jurisdiction) arose, whether English congregations in Spain, other than those on the coast,

* C.C.C., 1869, pp. 6, 8.

were under his supervision or that of the Bishop of London. It might have been thought from the F.O. Circulars of 1842 and 1866 that no such question could arise; but the congregations concerned and those in Portugal had remained under the Bishop of London, and it was thus that the S.P.G. provided the ministration of Confirmation in Spain and Portugal in 1863-1868.* But it was clearly easier for the Bishop of Gibraltar to care for them personally, and with them the congregations on the coast of Morocco and the Canary Islands. The same was evident with regard to congregations on the shores of the Black Sea, to some of which the Rev. C. G. Curtis had occasionally ministered from Constantinople; and after his first visitation tour in which he paid visits to these communities as Commissary for the Bishop of London, he zealously expressed his readiness to accept charge of them. Accordingly a F.O. Circular, issued November 20, 1869, declared that

“the spiritual superintendence hitherto exercised by the Bishop of London over the ministers and congregations of English Churches throughout Spain and Portugal, on the coast of Morocco, and in the Canary Islands as well as over the like congregations in the Kingdom of Italy, on the shores of the Black Sea, and on the lower Danube, shall henceforth devolve on the Bishop of Gibraltar.”

Such a circular had indeed no ecclesiastical value; but it secured to Bishop Harris the assistance and recognition of the British Consuls in the quarters named, and the necessary ecclesiastical authority was given on the consecration of Bishop Sandford (*infra*, p. 111).†

How great the Eastern extension has proved will appear later. The congregations in Roumania generally were not included until 1892. The congregations added in Morocco and the Canary Islands remained in the Diocese only till 1886, when they were transferred to that of Sierra Leone.

* C.C.C., 1869, p. 70.

† R., p. 60, S., 1878, p. 19; C.Q.R., Jan., 1878, pp. 361 f., C.C.C., 1870, p. 175, *footnote*.

(3) *Bishop Harris' three Visitation Tours*

The distinctive mark of Bishop Harris' episcopate on the Diocese was left by his three Visitation Tours. He was free from the pledge of long annual residence in Gibraltar and Malta given by his predecessors. His own strong pastoral bent, some knowledge of the Diocese, the conviction that it was impossible to make Malta a real centre, the passion to make full proof of his ministry, and a love of sight-seeing and of travel, combined to lead him to make these tours.* The effect on the Diocese was unspeakable. Going to places where no English clergyman, and much less any Bishop, had ever been before, he gathered together the few English for prayer, Holy Communion, and Confirmation, and gave them the joy of being under the living care and love of the Church of England. In established chaplaincies he was able to give the practical advice of one who had served long as a parish priest and archdeacon, and under his influence daily prayers and weekly Communion became the rule rather than the exception. As has been said, he had great personal charm, and the gift of attracting confidence and attachment; and he was the more readily deferred to, and his advice more frequently sought, because he was the first to recognize the exceptional nature of his work, and the difficulties besetting any attempt to take a stand upon his legal position.† Thus he gradually won his way in quarters where there had been previously some suspicion and resentment of episcopal authority; and drawing communities to himself he paved the way for Diocesan coherence without which there can be no true Diocesan life and work. Happily he has left in the "Visitation Notes"‡ which he contributed to the *Colonial Church Chronicle*, long detailed accounts of these tours, defective frequently as to precise dates, but full of light as to the state of the communities he visited, work done, needs discerned, and crowded with details of the past which are

* S., 1884, p. 44; 1887, p. 24.

† C.Q.R., Jan. 1878, pp. 361 f.

‡ There are but two entries of his Episcopate in the Bishop's Register, and both are unimportant. See *supra*, p. 48 n.

most interesting to present communities. It is much to be hoped that hereafter these Notes may be reprinted in full. They are so illustrative of the condition of the English settlements as to Church ministrations that a condensed abstract of them is appended (see *infra*, pp. 95 ff.). In the course of these tours, May 6, 1868 to June 4, 1872, the Bishop visited all the English congregations under his charge excepting those in the Azores ; consecrated six churches (Pera, Boudjah, Corfu, Algiers, Sulina and Genoa), and fourteen cemeteries (Algiers, Braila, Rustchuk, Teneriffe, Grand Canary, Mogador, Saffi, Mazagan, Casa Blanca, San Remo, Scutari, Constanza, Sulina and Galatz). He held 83 Confirmations, at which 986 men and 483 women were confirmed. He was actually engaged in travel in the Diocese for 46 out of the 54 months of health granted to him after he became Bishop, and his last tour occupied almost two years—from August 15, 1870, until June 5, 1872. In the course of these tours he travelled 49,903 miles.

(4) *Relations with the Eastern Churches*

It will be felt at once that in a life thus consecrated to journeyings often, and to such apostolic care of his scattered churches, it was impossible for the Bishop to keep his hand on the relations with the Eastern Churches, on Mission work among Mohammedans and on the reforming movements in Italy and Spain in the same way that Bishop Trower had done. He was but little in England for consultation with those interested in these matters there ; and his genius lay in ministering to his own people. But he was far from indifferent to the other fields of activity and influence which demand the watchfulness of a Bishop of Gibraltar.

He kept alive the spirit of friendship with the Patriarchs and Bishops of the Eastern Churches by interviews with them in all his Eastern visits. He relates that at one of these the Bishop of Zante defended the use of pictures and icons as necessary to meet the ignorance of his flock.* At another he was able to dispel suspicion as to certain points in the

* C.C.C., 1869, p. 86.

Anglican Prayer Book felt by the Patriarch of Constantinople to whom the Archbishop of Canterbury had given a copy in Greek.* He welcomed the presence of Greek Prelates or their representatives at Anglican Services, such as that of the consecration of the Crimean Memorial Church on October 22, 1868,† when the Patriarch paid the unprecedented compliment of sending his Vicar, the Archimandrite of Mount Athos, and the Bishop of Pera to represent him, or of the consecration of the Church at Boudjah;‡ and himself attended services of the Orthodox Church when invited to do so.§ It may be noted in passing that Anglican clergy took part in the funeral of Archbishop Chrysanthus of Smyrna in 1869, one of them offering prayer. ||

As he was abroad at the time he was unable to take any part in the important incident of the visit to England of Lycurgus, Archbishop of Syra, in 1870, to consecrate the Greek Church in Liverpool. That visit served in a remarkable degree to deepen the growing brotherliness and mutual understanding of the two great Churches. It was followed by letters to the Archbishop of Canterbury from the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Synod of Greece, to each of which Archbishop Tait replied; and also by letters of gratitude from the visitor himself and the Patriarch of Jerusalem. While in England, the Archbishop was present at the consecration of Bishop Mackarness (of Oxford) in St. Paul's and Bishop Mackenzie (of Nottingham) in York Minster; and representatives of our Archbishops attended the consecration of the Greek Church in Liverpool. The Bishop of Ely held a conference with the Archbishop, each having assessors; and their discussion, which lasted seven hours, dealt with "*corrigenda, disputanda, toleranda*," and touched the Sacraments, the Doctrine of the Eucharist, the Priesthood, the Marriage of Clergy, the Invocation of Saints, Prayers for the Dead, Icons, Relics and the Seventh Council. At the conclusion the Archbishop said, "When I return to Greece, I will say that the Church of England is not like other Protestant

* C.C.C., 1870, p. 176.

† C.C.C., 1868, p. 444.

‡ C.C.C., 1869, p. 88.

§ C.C.C., 1871, p. 128.

|| C.C.C. 1869, p. 445.

bodies. I will say that it is a sound Catholic Church, very like our own." Bishop Harris had the opportunity of meeting the Greek Prelate at Athens on his return to the East; and the visit must have greatly affected the attitude of the Orthodox Church in the Levant and Constantinople towards our own clergy.*

In one particular the visit contributed to confer a boon on Anglicans of which the need had long been felt. For years past the provision of Christian burial had been a difficulty in small colonies remote from Anglican ministrations. In 1869 (June 17) the Canterbury Lower House of Convocation had formally expressed the hope that the Orthodox Church would accord Christian burial to our people dying in the East who cannot receive the ministrations of their own Church, and would give the Eucharist to them when in danger of death, if remote from our own clergy or on travel, and that it would also baptize our people in similar circumstances of need. It declared at the same time that the Church of England was willing to act reciprocally, as indeed in the past, and as she considered herself as a Church bound to do.†

In the Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, written on the return of Archbishop Lycurgus, dated June 11, 1870, the Holy Synod of Greece says that, "wishing to show some tokens of brotherly love to the Anglican Church, and concurring with the most Holy Synod of the Most Holy Ecumenic Patriarch, this Synod has notified to our reverend clergy by letters encyclical that they show to Christians of your Confession brotherly love in all things unto the utmost; and with regard to your dead, when an Orthodox priest of your own chances not to be present, they count them worthy of

* For the account of the Archbishop's visit see C.C.C., 1870, pp. 70 ff., 89; for the Letter of the Patriarch of C. to Archbishop of Canterbury, dated April 30, 1870, C.C.C., 1870, p. 273; the reply (dated Sept. 10), p. 379; for the Letter of the Synod of Greece (dated 11 June), p. 381; for the reply (dated Sept. 30), p. 481; for Archbishop Lycurgus' farewell Letter, p. 188; for the letter of the Patriarch of Jerusalem, C.C.C., 1871, pp. 106 f.; for valuable correspondence following the visit, C.C.C., 1873, pp. 7, 51; for the Conference at Ely (Feb. 4, 1870), C.C.C., 1871, pp. 108 ff.

† C.C.C., 1869, pp. 272 ff.

their befitting care, and of the prayers of our Church on behalf of their souls." * The action of the Patriarch with which the Synod thus concurred was his issuing to his Metropolitans (in 1869) an Encyclical giving direction and appointing a service for the burial of Anglicans in Greek cemeteries by Greek priests on request, while if Anglican clergy are present, "let not ours interfere in the service." †

Towards the close of Bishop Harris' Episcopate the Hatherly incident occurred, which drew from the Patriarchate of Constantinople a document which strikingly illustrates the abhorrence of proselytizing of the Eastern Church. A Mr. Stephen Hatherly had received Greek ordination at Constantinople in order to minister to a few Greeks at Wolverhampton, and desired to increase the number of his flock. But at the command of the Patriarch the Grand Protosyncellus peremptorily ordered him (February 27, 1873) to abstain "from even the idea of proselytizing a few members of the Anglican Church." The incident gives some picture of the light in which the Anglican Church would appear in the East if proselytizing in any form were sanctioned by her, and is a concrete expression of the principles of the Eastern Church. ‡

(5) *Religious reforming Movement in Italy and Spain*

Bishop Harris does not appear to have taken any active share in guiding the reforming Movement in either Italy or Spain, although his travel enabled him to learn much of its progress and character. The divergence of the movement in both countries from the catholic standard of order, which became more marked during his episcopate, caused growing apprehension to him and to all English Churchmen of the time who were disposed to offer sympathy and encouragement; and he foresaw that a definite position as to the movement would ere long be forced upon his Anglican Diocese.

* C.C.C., 1870, pp. 381 ff.

† The whole Encyclical and the Form of Service is given: C.C.C., 1870, p. 18.

‡ See C.C.C., 1873, p. 462, where the letter is given in full, and its significance shown.

It is true that in 1869 the leading journals of the reforming spirits in Italy pressed for a Catholic reformation of the Italian Church, and a free Catholic Italian Church recognized by the State, and believed that such a Church would promote a restoration of Christian unity.* But it was not so with all. The Bishop saw in 1870 little in the movement to give hope or satisfaction to English Churchmen. It seemed to him that in Italy the upper classes tended to infidelity, the middle to indifference, while the lower classes alone were attached to the Roman Church, but in ignorance and superstition; and that the great majority of those who separated from her were going off into Presbyterianism and Congregationalism.† Such a deflection of the movement was calculated ultimately to wreck it; for such "Protestantism" is utterly incompatible with the genius of the people, and repelled Italians of intelligence. The disposition to "renounce Popery" so directed led to renunciation of faith altogether.‡ The Bishop while in Turin in 1871 observed the growing relaxation of discipline among the Vaudois, and their immersion in the very indefinite category of "Protestants."§ His chaplain at Messina, the Rev. J. C. Clay, in whom he placed much confidence, reported in 1872 that the reforming spirits had no organization, and no leader; that the Vaudois or Dissenters, while making progress, had given up all idea of Church membership, and were going into schism; that they were in fact so many independent congregations spread over the country, without policy, or idea of a national Church or a national reformation. "All that they desire is to be left to themselves; and if they can but have tolerance, it concerns them little how the Pope governs in Rome."|| All this was distressing indeed to the Bishop, who clearly felt that reform must, at any price, find root and development in the bosom of the Latin Church.

* C.C.C., 1869, pp. 361 ff., 479 ff.

† C.C.C., 1870, p. 221.

‡ See a long and illustrative Report of the Committee of the U.S. Convention on Religious Reform in Italy; C.C.C., 1870, pp. 394 ff.

§ C.C.C., 1872, p. 126.

|| Report of the Anglo-Continental Society, 1871.

In Spain, the new constitution inaugurated in 1868 after General Prim's revolution, and the widespread anarchy which followed, and which ultimately drove King Amadeo to resign the crown, affected both the reforming movement, and our own Church's provision for her people. The second article of that constitution declared that "no person shall be molested in the territory of Spain for his religious opinions, nor for the exercise of his particular worship, saving the respect due to Christian morality. Nevertheless, no other ceremonies or manifestations in public will be permitted than those of the religion of the State, the Catholic Apostolic Roman Religion." It is clear that the first clause of the article gave liberty of separation from the National Church without molestation, and promised for Englishmen liberty of worship. But it is equally clear that the second clause imposed restrictions calculated eventually to cause friction, and to give countenance to the demand from some quarters for complete toleration, and in others to the practice of much petty persecution.*

Bishop Harris was speedily confronted by the effect of the new constitution. On his visit to Seville in June, 1870, he found a difficulty which demanded speedy solution. "Without any act on our part," he writes, "which can be called proselytism, large numbers are daily detaching themselves from the Roman Communion, and becoming Presbyterians, Plymouth Brethren, and, in too many cases, infidels; and many among such, when they become acquainted with our Prayer Book in Spanish and see our service, prefer our communion to all others, attend our church, seek Confirmation and Communion; while some more highly educated would gladly, if permitted, enter the ministry. . . . Non-interference can hardly much longer be the solution of the problem."† Two years later, on a visit to Madrid (October, 1872) he noted that seven "Protestant services" were advertised in the newspapers, and that the Protestants in Madrid were estimated to number eight thousand, of the Presbyterian

* See *The Cambridge Modern History*, vol. XII., pp. 258 f.; Meyrick, *The Church in Spain*, pp. 444 f.

† C.C.C., 1870, p. 299.

and Congregational type.* On November 5 in the same year at Seville he appears to have attended a "most remarkable" Anglo-Spanish service in "a quondam Roman Catholic Church, refitted for Protestant worship," at which an ex-Roman Catholic priest, who preferred the English service, officiated, wearing the surplice. The service consisted of selections from the English Prayer Book. The Holy Communion, at which thirty-seven communicated, was according to the full English rite. No hostility was apparent. But the Bishop adds that all seemed dependent on £1600 p.a. of English money, and concludes, "I have seen nothing yet in Spain or Italy to give me the idea of a real internal and national Reformation like that of the sixteenth century."† It seems clear that he found himself unable to co-operate with the Reforming movement generally from the conviction that to do so would compromise the Church of England. But a sincere sympathy is equally apparent.

(6) *Missions to Mohammedans and to Jews*

It will be understood that, after the events of 1864 (see *supra*, p. 70) at Constantinople, the work of the Mission to Moslems there became more difficult. The effort of Lord Stratford de Redcliffe was apparently not without some result; for in recording the Confirmation, in September 1869, of two converts from Islam, the Bishop writes that they had been charged before the Grand Vizier, who ruled that they had liberty to become Christians—"a weighty precedent."‡ In the following year he confirmed three more converts, the first-fruits of C.M.S. labour. It is to be confessed that active Mission work became less and less part of the life of the Crimean Memorial Church, and was resigned into the hands of the C.M.S.

In 1869 a door was opened for work among Moslems and Jews at the western end of the Diocese. It will be remembered that in that year the Bishop's jurisdiction was extended to the

* C.C.C., 1872, p. 128.

† *Ibid.*

‡ C.C.C., 1870, p. 176.

towns of Morocco west of the Straits of Gibraltar. The Rev. J. O. Bagdon, chaplain at Gibraltar, in the same year wrote first to the *Moslem Missionary Society* and then to Bishop Harris, proposing to open a mission in Tangier and Morocco. Tangier was then a town of 15,000 souls, of which 5000 were Jews and the great majority of the rest Christians, of whom Anglicans numbered under thirty. The lives of most of the Christians were demoralized and vicious. Though the Latins had a body of priests and a brotherhood, they made no headway against Islam, as the "Mohammedan looked with abhorrence on the Roman rites and ceremonies as simply idolatry." It seemed as if only the Church of England could present the faith to the Moors. But we had not (as the Bishop's *Visitation Notes* show) a single priest in Morocco, resident or itinerating. In spite of great local difficulties and want of any support from consuls and diplomats, Mr. Bagdon himself visited the coast towns with the Bishop's warm encouragement. In 1870 he repeated his visit, and came to the conclusion that nothing could be done without a knowledge of the vernacular and a supply of Arabic books and tracts. In the course of the year he became a Missionary in Morocco. But eventually the effort died away. Mr. Bagdon became Missioner to Seamen at Constantinople. The Diocese had not yet that corporate life and conscience which is required to follow so devoted a lead, and to-day the mission-field of North Africa is occupied, so far as it is occupied, by labourers who do not belong to the Church of England. The towns of western Morocco concerned, except Tangier, are now in the Diocese of Sierra Leone.

Of mission work among the Jews, carried on by the L.J.S. at Tunis, Constantinople and Smyrna there are no details which properly belong to Diocesan life. The Bishop refers to this Society's work in his *Visitation Notes*; to his confirming a Hebrew at Constantinople and a Jewess at Smyrna, in May, 1870, and to a visit to the schools in Tunis. He was somewhat doubtful of the merits of the system of education adopted, and remarked that none of the children professed Christianity on leaving school. He regretted that

the Missionaries confined their labours so exclusively to the Jews, and quoted, "To the Jews first, and *also* to the Gentiles," adding that he considered that their influence with the Jews would be increased by their being able, in addition to their direct teaching, to show them living examples of a Christian community growing in grace and the knowledge of Christ under their ministry. The regret is now (1917) not in place in the Diocese with regard to Bucharest and Tunis, where the L.J.S. missionaries serve for the time as chaplains to the English communities.*

(7) *Foundation of the Gibraltar Diocesan Spiritual Aid Fund*

The active episcopate of Bishop Harris closed with a call from him to the Diocese which forms a fitting bridge to its life under the changed conditions which were to follow. The decision of the Government in 1872 (to be dwelt on more fully a few pages later) meant that the connection of the Diocese of Gibraltar with the State had ended, and that the next Bishop would not be appointed by Letters Patent. In 1873 the operation of the almost complete repeal of the Consular Advances Act commenced, and the allowances made under that Act began to be discontinued. It was clear that a time was at hand when the maintenance of many chaplaincies would be extremely difficult. Bishop Harris had had some experience of the effect of the withdrawal of consular aid at Naples, where it had already ceased, and where his skill had inaugurated a new constitution and a régime under "the voluntary system, pure and simple, had to be tried, and Church feeling and Christian generosity to be put fairly to the test.† There could be little doubt that many chaplains would be placed in financial straits. But the Diocese was as a whole quite unprepared to meet such an

* C.C.C., 1869, p. 89 ; 1871, pp. 132, 430.

† C. C. C., 1869, p. 155.

ordeal, for there was no coherent and corporate life binding its communities together, and rendering them conscious of the duty of rendering mutual aid, while the consular aid itself had weakened self-reliance.

On his return to England after his last long Visitation tour the Bishop established *The Gibraltar Diocesan Spiritual Aid Fund*. In the paper respecting it (issued, Midsummer, 1872), he stated that of the 50 Anglican congregations under his care, exclusive of those in Gibraltar and Malta, 14 received State aid towards the stipend of the chaplain, 17 that of Societies, while 19 depended entirely on themselves. Besides these, there were many small yet not unimportant communities unable to maintain a chaplain. He pointed out that aid of £20-£50 might often serve to preserve or establish a chaplaincy. Accordingly he called not only for donations and subscriptions, promising £100 yearly himself, but, as for a Diocesan Fund, he "looked to one offertory *yearly* from *each* congregation under his spiritual supervision, and trusted he might receive £400 a year in addition to his own subscription." He hoped in 1872-3 to make grants of £25 to Barcelona; £50 to the Lower Danube; £20 to Patras, to Zante, and to Linares.* To such an appeal, an entirely new thing in the Diocese, Bishop Harris would soon have secured an adequate response; but owing to his failure in health and long illness, little at the time was done, and when his successor took up the reins the Fund was receiving only £99 a year. But the call to the Diocese had been made; and it will be seen how, though for a somewhat different end, Bishop Sandford made it heard, and won the answer.

No one who follows Bishop Harris' ministry can doubt that his pastoral self-forgetfulness and labours and his Christian attractiveness served to prepare the congregations, if preparation were needed, to acquiesce in the loss of Letters Patent. He moved among them with the humility and love of a Bishop of the Church of God, and so made good his authority. Thus he won his way in Rome, where on his first visit in 1869 he writes, "my episcopal superintendence is

* C.C.C., 1872, p. 260.

not acknowledged" but where he confirmed on request, and noted with appreciation the "most satisfactory" state of the Church community; on his second, in 1870, "here I dwelt unofficially for a week;" and noted "the same kindly respect" and the large attendances at the Eucharist; and of the third (in 1872), can write, "my first visit to the Anglicans and English as their Bishop." Certainly, State action primarily accounted for the change; but it was the Bishop's character that made it welcome. In the same way at Naples, he was able so to heal the sore which forfeited the consular aid-grant as to receive in the new constitution of the chaplaincy the charge of appointing the chaplain. What grieved him most was indifference and discord, as when the disruption of the congregation took place at Rome in 1872—a disruption due, he wrote, to "the old, old story of High and Low; most inopportune, as attesting our inability to be at one, in the face of the head of the Roman Church, and also as crippling by dividing efforts to create a seemly Church in Rome." Himself a bond of love, he rose above pettiness, and so drew men to himself as, when at Malta (in 1869) he disregarded the exclusion of the Government chaplains from his jurisdiction, to set a splendid precedent by gathering together no fewer than ten of them with his civil chaplains for the Holy Communion and mutual conference.*

An attack of Maltese fever in 1872 towards the end of his tour greatly weakened the Bishop, who was never robust. It left serious consequences, which led to a prolonged stay in England, and ultimately to his resignation on October 11, 1873. He died at Torquay, March 16, 1874, and his body rests in his beloved Bremhill.†

Progress of the Diocese, 1842-1873.—The progress of Church life in the Diocese under the Bishopric was at first very slow and hard to see. To many it must have appeared

* C.C.C., 1869, p. 89.

† Notices in the *Salisbury and Winchester Gazette*, March 21, 1874; the *Guardian*, March 25, 1874, and *Dict. Nat. Biography*.

during the Episcopate of Bishop Tomlinson that only one hope of those who founded the Bishopric was fulfilled: that it would maintain and advance friendly relations with the Eastern Churches and mutual understanding. That end it served unmistakably. But in other directions the Bishopric at first awoke little apparent quickening in the spiritual life of the congregations. This was due not solely to the Bishop's protracted annual residence in Malta during the temperate season of the year when congregations were at their full and chaplains in residence, although, as Bishop Harris' episcopate showed, that did account in considerable measure for the slowness of progress. The real cause was rather that the Bishop had to deal with a number of congregations lacking all coherence and organization (as Dr. Biber had remarked in 1845), and which had grown up in what has been called "an insufficient Presbyterianism";* and while professedly loyal to the Church of England were full of the congregational spirit fostered in many cases by the working of the Consular Advances Act. Episcopal supervision—the idea and the thing—was in varying degrees novel, even resented and undesired, and had to justify itself as a living principle of the Church; and the first two Bishops of this period seem to have framed and transmitted no policy of dealing with a charge composed of such elements. In a less degree the type of clergy by which the chaplaincies were served, and the lack of sustained interest in England and, save for work at Constantinople, of adequate help contributed to make advance slow.

But changes in such matters could not be effected in a day. Alteration in the whole body of chaplains, and in the presentation of Anglican worship, could come about only gradually. The person and work of a Bishop could find appreciation and influence local separate traditions and customs of long standing only little by little and visit by visit. All such educative processes require patience. But they appear to have gone on steadily until in Bishop Harris appeared one qualified in character and instinct to waken them into flame. It is quite possible that he might have

* C.C.C., 1864, p. 43.

effected even more than he did if he had given less time to his tours and more to some constructive method for promoting diocesan coherence which could be put before the chaplaincies for consideration, and especially if he had adopted some medium of communication by which the communities which he visited could have learned of one another. This would probably have resulted from the expansion of the Diocesan Spiritual Aid Fund, had he been spared to develop it himself.

Probably the change in Gibraltar itself during these years was reflected in other chaplaincies. In an earlier chapter (*supra*, pp. 53 ff.), notes of the conditions there in 1842 have been collected. In 1868 Bishop Harris writes of his See-city, "Theoretically the ecclesiastical status of the Bishop of Gibraltar is very imperfect. But if from theory we pass to practice, there is much to interest and encourage. In the chaplains, military and civil, we have a body of earnest, active clergy; the Church services are hearty, communicants numerous, and the schools and other institutions connected with the Church of England well managed. Of 88 candidates for Confirmation, 46 were soldiers. Although the Bishop's *rights* are few, my experience of the universal respect for his office [is] such as to make me feel that I have a far broader and pleasanter foundation than that of *right* to rest upon." * And any one who considers the character of the whole body of the licensed clergy, the increased number of chaplains and chaplaincies,† the changed attitude towards the episcopal office

* C.C.C., 1869, Jan., p. 5, C.Q.R., 1878, Jan., p. 359.

† Particulars of the clergy officiating in the Diocese in 1842 have been given on p. 49 f. On the death of Bishop Harris there were sixty-five holding the Bishop's Licence, nine of whom were missionaries of the C.M.S. and L.J.S. Fifty-seven chaplaincies were established. The following table gives particulars. Except where stated, there was one chaplain at each chaplaincy. There were fifteen consecrated churches and chapels, and one consecrated church-room. These are at chaplaincies marked †.

GIBRALTAR. Cathedral † (2).
MALTA. Valletta. †
Sliema. †

SPAIN. Barcelona (*vacant*).
Cadiz, Jerez and Port
St. Mary.

and supervision, and the worthier churches and services, can see the progress made during this period. A rough simile may serve to measure what was done. We may liken a diocese to a wheel of a great many-wheeled vehicle, in want of which the whole runs badly. Of such a wheel the Bishop is the axle, the centre of the wheel itself and the point of union with the whole vehicle; the parishes or chaplaincies are

SPAIN (cont.)	Linares. Madrid (<i>vacant</i>). Malaga (Consular Chaplain). Seville.	ITALY (cont.)	Rome (2), L.J.S. (1). San Remo. Spezzia. Turin. Venice.
PORTUGAL.	Lisbon. Madeira. Oporto.†	SICILY.	Messina. Palermo and Mar- sala.
FRANCE.	Antibes. Cannes; Christ Church.† *	AUSTRIA.	Trieste† (Consular Chaplain).
	St. Paul's (2). H. Trinity. Corsica (Ajaccio). Hyères. Marseilles (Consu- lar Chaplain). Mentone; West Bay (2). East Bay. Nice, Holy Trinity (2).† Carabacel.	ROUMANIA.	Bucarest (L.J.S.). Sulina† (<i>vacant</i>).
	Toulon.	GREECE.	Athens.† Corfu (Consular Chaplain). Patras, Syras (C.M.S.). Church Room.† Zante.
ITALY.	Bordighera. Castellamare. Florence.† Genoa (<i>vacant</i>). Leghorn. Milan. Naples.† Nervi. Pegli. Pisa and Bagni di Lucca. Rapallo.	TURKEY.	Constantinople, Pera (Embassy).† Crimean Mem. Ch.† Kadikœui. C.M.S. (1) L.J.S. (1) Smyrna,† (Consular Chaplain.) Bournabat.† Boudjah.† C.M.S. (3) L.J.S. (1)
		AFRICA.	Algiers. Mogador. Tangier (<i>vacant</i>). Tunis (L.J.S.).

* The consecration is, however, open to question.

the spokes ; and the diocesan spirit and coherence the rim ; the whole being bound together by the tyre—that love which is *the bond of perfectness*. Bishop Tomlinson found the spokes scattered on the ground and in need of finish and form. Gradually he and his successors found out where they were, and gave them shape. Bishop Harris socketed them into the Bishopric as the axle. It remained for Bishop Sandford to construct the rim by giving work to be done in common, and calculated to produce that love and wider concern which is indispensable for a wheel of the chariot of the Church.

The Visitation Tours of Bishop Harris

In the following condensed notes "B" = Baptisms. "H. C." is followed by the number of communicants, "M" by the number present at Mattins, and "E" at Evensong ; "C" by the number confirmed ; "B. G." denotes the consecration of a Burial Ground, and "Ch. C." that of a Church.

FIRST VISITATION TOUR. May 6, 1868.—May 14, 1869. *Col. Ch. Chronicle*, 1869, pp. 5-11 ; 84-90 ; 252-258.

May 20, GIBRALTAR (C. 88). TANGIER (few ; no chaplaincy possible). June 8-23, MALTA. SYRACUSE (C. 2). NAPLES (Ch. matters : "least said, soonest mended"). LEGHORN (C. 4). July 15—Aug. 5, BAGNI DI LUCCA (not displeasing Church). FLORENCE (empty. C. 4). Aug. 16, VENICE (H. C. 8, congregation 20). Aug. 21, TRIESTE (C. 4, financial status, as in too many Mediterranean churches, most unsatisfactory). FIUME (C. 4). ANCONA (English clergyman, v. few people). CORFU (disestablished and disendowed). CEPHALONIA (Consul reads service ; little English Chapel). ZANTE (H. C. 15 ; no chaplain). PATRAS (£700 collected for Church ; site granted by King). ATHENS (H. C. 16). Sept. 26—Oct. 29, CONSTANTINOPLE (Crimean Mem. Ch. consecrated Oct. 22, C. 30). Oct. 30—Nov. 14, SMYRNA (Boudjah Ch. consecrated ; C. 39). 1869. Nov. 17—Jan. 4, 1869, MALTA (daily prayer and weekly H. C. established). TUNIS (L.J.S. missionaries should give less exclusive devotion of time to Jews). Jan. 4, SYRACUSE (service at Consulate). PALERMO. Jan. 12, NAPLES (reconstruction of disestablished and disendowed Ch. community). ROME (my episcopal superintendence not acknowledged : kindest welcome : confirmation requested, C. 7. Anglican community most satisfactory in Mediterranean). GENOA (foundations of Ch. laid). SAN REMO (neat chapel, permanent chaplain, C.C.C.S.). BORDIGHERA (C.C.C.S. chaplain ; service in small anciently consecrated chapel attached to private house, purchased by hotel keeper). Feb. 14, MENTONE (2 churches : eastern "a

wretched building"; western good. H. C. 70, C. 9). NICE (Carabacel, chapel of ease to Trinity Ch. C. 12). AJACCIO (service in hotel; C.C.C.S. chaplain). CAP D' ANTIBES (service in private house by clergyman from Nice). CANNES (Christ Church, C. 14, H. C. 175. St. Paul's, building; site given by Lady Oxford). HYÈRES (beautiful Ch.). MARSEILLES (service in room "decently arranged"; Consular chaplain; Sailors' Club). Good Friday and Easter Day, ALGIERS (services in vault under Gd. Boulevard; £700 collected for Ch. C. 8; H. C. 58).

VALENCIA (B. 9: no chaplain). BARCELONA (most efficient chaplain; room for service; C. 5). MADRID (worst appointed service and place of worship I have met with in my Diocese). ALICANTE (reverent H. C. in house of R. C. Consul). CARTAGENA (B. 1). ALMERIA. MALAGA (well-organised chaplaincy; service in Consulate; Consul, Mr. Mark, invaluable; cemetery beautiful). SEVILLE (in Dio. London, zealous chaplain; service in room; C.). CADIZ (chaplain needed for Cadiz, Jerez, and Port St. Mary). May 14, GIBRALTAR. LONDON.

SECOND VISITATION TOUR. August 23, 1869—June 30, 1870. *Col. Ch. Chronicle*, 1870, pp. 174-179; 217-221; 295-300.

LIVERPOOL, 23 Aug. 1869. GIBRALTAR. Sept. 6, SYRA (Rev. F. A. Hildner, German, C.M.S., missy. there 40 years; Ch. a little room consecrated by Bp. Tomlinson; H. C. quarterly). Sept. 9-20, CONSTANTINOPLE (C. 26; mission among seaman begun, C.C.C.S.). Sept. 22, GALATZ (joined by Rev. C. La Mothe, S.P.G. chaplain; service in Col. Stokes' house, 50. H. C. 14, 1 B. 25th, B. G.). Sept. 26, BRAILA (27th B. G., attendance scanty, little interest shown). Sept. 27-30, RUSTCHUK (could not consecrate B. G., as not enclosed). Oct. 2, SULINA ("inaugurated" Ch., not consecrated as to be used by all "Protestant" denominations, C. 2; H. C. 17; Oct. 3, B. G.). Oct. 4, CONSTANZA (B. G.; small iron Ch. M. 80, 1 B.). Oct. 6-13, CONSTANTINOPLE. Oct. 17, SMYRNA (C. 2).

Oct. 25, MARSEILLES. Nov. 5, CANNES (Nov. 6, inaugurated St. Paul's Ch.; mortgage debt on building and site forbade consecration). NICE (C.). MENTONE (C.). SAN REMO. GENOA (chaplain at Pegli). LEGHORN. PISA (C. 5). Christmas, FLORENCE (C. 5; H. C. (3), 152).

1870. Jan. 1-7, ROME (where I dwelt unofficially for a week; same kindly respect; H. C. 95, 115, 38). Jan. 8-17, NAPLES (new Ch. constitution working well; C.). SORRENTO (arranging for S.P.G. chaplaincy). PALERMO (scheme for Ch. fairly launched). Jan. 23, MARSALA (whole resident community at M. and H. C.; second H. C. in Marsala in 9 years; B. 2). MESSINA (service under v. disadvantageous circumstances). CATANIA (chaplain needed).

Feb. 11—Mar. 30, MALTA ("all's well"; Sliema has now duly col-
lated incumbent and legally secured parsonage; C. 125; Ordination
of a Deacon). Mar. 27, TRIPOLI (Anglicans barely 20; B. 2;
C. 2; H. C. 7; cemetery consecrated by Bp. Tomlinson; chaplain's
visits to be arranged).

Apr. 3—May 10, GIBRALTAR ("all's well"; weekly service on a hulk for
seamen; energetic chaplain). May 10, TANGIER. CASA BLANCA
(B. G.; B. 1). MOGADOR (B. G.; B. 1; C. 1; H. C. 9). May 29,
SAFFI (C. 1; H. C. 4; congregation 10; B. G.)—attempt to secure
guarantees for stipend of an itinerating clergyman, to reside at
Tangier; first visit of a clergyman to these colonies exc. Tangier.
TENERIFFE (B. 2; C. 2; H. C. 10; B. G.). LAS PALMAS (B. G.;
B. 6; no ministrations during last 11 years). June 2, GIBRALTAR.
June 8-14, CADIZ (attempt to re-start chaplaincy for Cadiz, Port St.
Mary, and Jerez). SEVILLE (C. 12; attitude towards Reform
movement difficult). LISBON (now in Dio. Gib.; C. 41; substantial,
well-cared for English Chapel). OPORTO (C. 15; now in Dio. Gib.;
chapel as in Lisbon; Mr. Whiteley, chaplain for 46 years, still
capable, æt. 76). Left Oporto for England, June 28.

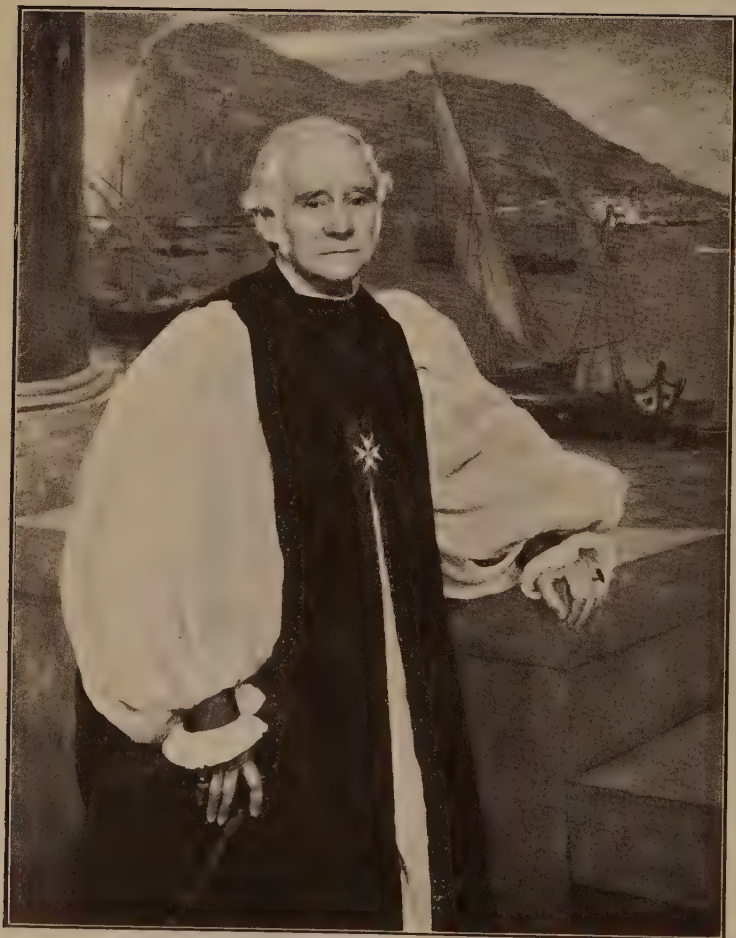
THIRD VISITATION TOUR. August 15, 1870—June 5, 1872. *Col. Ch.
Chronicle*, 1871, pp. 126-133; 425-435; 1872, pp. 123-128; 254-260.

LIVERPOOL, Aug. 15, 1870. Aug. 28, SYRA. Aug. 30, ATHENS (met
Archbp. of Syra fresh from English visit). PATRAS (licensed first
chaplain; Gk. Govt. has given site for Ch.). Sept. 13, ZANTE
(H. C. 18). CORFU, 12 days (Oct. 2, 1870, Ch. cons.; old Ionian
Parliament House; King present). Oct. 10, TRIESTE (C.). FIUME
(C.). Oct. 30, VENICE (H. C. 15, in Palazzo Contarini). MILAN
("newly defined station"; C.C.C.S.; service in side chapel of dese-
crated Ch.; C. 11; H. C. 55). LUGANO (Dio. London; C. 2).
TURIN (service in house of Vandois pastor; C. 6; H. C. 15; newly
defined station, C.C.C.S.). SAN REMO, Franco-German war raging;
villas unlet; hotels closed. BORDIGHERA (Ch. closed). MENTONE
(2 locum-tenentes). NICE (no English). Christmas Day, CANNES
(English not half of one of the 3 congregations; Ordination of a
Deacon). Dec. 27, MARSEILLES.

Dec. 29—Jan. 7, 1871, ALGIERS (on Jan. 4, Ch. consecrated; B. 1, C.).
Jan. 7-12, TUNIS (H. C. 12). Jan. 14, CAGLIARI, Sardinia (chap-
laincy required for lead mines and railway). PALERMO (Ch. ordered,
Architect, Mr. Barker of Leicester). Jan. 29, MESSINA (Ch. room
now our own). CATANIA (chaplain now resident). Feb. 3—March
25, MALTA (C. 102). Visit to Egypt and Syria, lasting 5 weeks.

SMYRNA (C. 13, B. 1). May, CONSTANTINOPLE (C. 36. British Embassy
recently burnt; Chapel unscathed). May 31, VARNA (in "my
newly allotted territory"). RUSTCHUK (B. 2; B. G., "now decently
fenced and laid out"). BUCHAREST (service in consulate; congrega-
tion 16, H. C. 8). CONSTANZA (congregation 50). June 11,

- GALATZ (M. 56, H. C. 13). June 12, SULINA (Ch. C., June 14, as now restricted to use of C. of E.). ODESSA (Anglican community small; accept an active and talented Presbyterian Minister; not much prospect of C. of E. chaplaincy; service in Consulate). NICOLAIEV (one Anglican family). SEBASTOPOL (120 cemeteries; 2 English families; congregation 7). POTI (Poti—Tiflis Rlwy. maintain a chaplain for employés. When the line is completed this chaplaincy should become permanent, and mark E. boundary of Dio. Gibraltar). CONSTANTINOPLE.
- CORFU (new Consular chaplain). July 30, ANCONA (no service; Anglicans left; attended Waldensian service with L.J.S. missionary). FLORENCE (M. 22; H. C. 16). BAGNI DI LUCCA. Aug. 27, TURIN. COURMAYEUR (C.C.C.S.; M. 17; H. C. 16). PALLANZA (permanent chaplain; service in hotel; daily prayer). BAVENO (S.P.G., small but beautiful Ch. not yet consecrated). STRESA (C.C.C.S.; service in hotel). VILLA D'ESTE (C.C.C.S.). BELLAGIO (C.C.C.S.). CADENABBIA (S.P.G.). Sept. 24, TURIN (goodly congregation, H. C. 20). Oct. 1, NICE (H. C. 22). BARCELONA (C. 7). MAJORCA (Consul the only Anglican). VALENCIA.
- Oct. 22, DENIA (small settlement of English merchants; H. C. 8; Barcelona chaplain occasionally ministers at Valencia, Denia, and Alicante). MADRID (C. 5; Sunday services under circumstances capable of great improvement). LINARES (100 English). Nov. 5, SEVILLE (H. C. 15; C. 5; attended remarkable Anglo-Spanish service). CADIZ (consolidating proposed joint chaplaincy). Nov. 12, LISBON. Nov. 17—Dec. 3, MADEIRA (Consular chapel; daily service; C. 9; H. C. 41). Dec. 4-14, TENERIFFE (B. 3; C. 2; marriage 1; H. C. 11). Dec. 12, MOGADOR (C. 3; M. 24; H. C. 15). MAZAGAN (E. 6—whole Anglican community). CASA BLANCA (2 Anglicans). Dec. 21—Jan. 31, 1872, GIBRALTAR (C. Jan. 4, 39; Jan. 25, 31).
- Jan. 21, TANGIER (service at Legation; H. C. 15). Feb. 1, MALAGA (Mr. Penrose Mark recently dead; C. 6; H. C. 45; service in Consulate; not inconsiderable English community). Feb. 11, MARSEILLES (C. 4). HYERES. CANNES (C. St. Paul's chancel added by Sir R. Glass). Feb. 15, NICE (C.). MENTONE (C.). SAN REMO (C.—last 4, 35 candidates). GENOA (Ch. progressing). LEGHORN. FLORENCE (C. 14). March 17, ROME (my first visit to the Anglicans and English as their Bishop; inopportune division; the "old, old story of High and Low"; C. 7). Easter Day, NAPLES (H. C. 160; C. 3; new Ch. Constitution works well). PALERMO (Ch. foundations being dug). MALTA (seven weeks' stay; C. 125 from fleet; 66 others; left "in grip of a most depressing epidemic fever"). PALERMO (fever not shaken off). GENOA (Ch. cons. June 4). June 6, Left for "regions where my spiritual supervision comes to an end, and with it the record and Notes of my Visitation."



CHARLES WALDEGRAVE SANDFORD, BISHOP OF
GIBRALTAR, 1874—1903

(FROM THE PORTRAIT BY MR. HERBERT OLIVIER, NOW IN THE HALL OF
CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD)

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III

THE EPISCOPATE OF BISHOP SANDFORD, 1874-1903

CHAPTER VIII

THE EPISCOPATE OF BISHOP SANDFORD, 1874-1903

(I) *Character of Bishop Sandford's Work. His Pastoral Letters. Treatment of the Period*

BISHOP SANDFORD'S Episcopate lasted thirty years. Through this long period his calm, methodical steadfastness, his capacity for fixing an end, his scholarly knowledge as Churchman and theologian, and his living interest in all that belonged to the current life of the Church combined to enable him to grasp the needs of his Diocese, to strive to meet them, whether by action or by teaching, without dissipation or waste of energies, and to look beyond the moment to a policy to be framed and pursued where a policy was required. Thus by sustained patience and without any ostentation he left a deep impress on his charge, to which all too little justice has been done, and of which the Diocese itself has been little conscious.

Happily, his work can be traced from his own records. His Bishop's Register, indeed, is but scantily kept, and is broken by gaps not of months but of years. But he made ample amends for this by the remarkable series of Pastoral Letters, addressed to the clergy and laity, which he issued year by year from 1875 to 1903, with the exception of 1877, in which year he suffered from an illness which laid him aside for nearly two years. These Letters are a storehouse of

learning on the divers questions which came before his Diocese and the Church at large during these years, a record of his own Episcopate, and a record also of the labours and assistance of fellow-workers in the Diocese. They contain also from the first Lists of the Clergy, accounts of Diocesan Funds, and frequently papers relating to Diocesan efforts, the work of societies, and church building. They are extraordinarily full and detailed, and were apparently written each autumn from a diary (which the present writer has not been able to use) kept with great regularity and minuteness. The last of the series, in which he dealt with Doctrine and Dogma, though written in his seventy-fifth year and dated but two months before his death, is as clear, forcible, and strong as any of those of earlier years. From these Letters the greater part of the following pages is drawn, and they must ever be the prime source of the history of the Diocese for these years, and in many matters the guide of the Bishop's successors. It is to be regretted that very few copies have survived. The Bishop's own bound copies have been presented to the diocese by his sister-in-law, Mrs. E. G. Sandford.

It has seemed best in attempting a survey of so long a period to give first as a picture of the Bishop drawn in a notice of him written shortly after his death by his brother, the Ven. Ernest Grey Sandford, Archdeacon of Exeter. It is impossible here fully to portray one who was the central and outstanding personality in the Diocese for thirty years. Before presenting the life of the Diocese under him, and the policy for it which he shaped, a brief account is given of the changes made by the withdrawal of the Letters Patent and the Repeal of the Consular Advances Act, which materially affected the conditions of the bishopric and the chaplaincies. This will be followed by a view of the internal growth of the Diocese during these years; of the Bishop's formative work, in the course of which as Diocesan and Ordinary he moulded his charge into the order and standard of regular life as a diocese of the Church of England; of the progress in diocesan effectiveness, seen chiefly in the initiation and advance of

work on behalf of British Seamen, in a much less degree in the case of small communities, and also in work among women. Reference must be made more briefly to other matters of real importance to the life of the Diocese: the decided action which the Bishop took in regard to gambling establishments; the shrinkage of directly missionary work; the attendance of Anglicans at Roman Catholic services; and the relation of Church Societies to the Diocese. Lastly, some account will be given of the relations of the Diocese and its Bishop with other Communions—the Orthodox Churches of the East, and the Roman Catholic Church; of the position maintained with regard to proselytism, and towards movements of religious reform in Italy and the Peninsula, and in particular towards the Spanish Reformed Church and the consecration of Bishop Cabrera by the Irish Bishops in 1894.

(2) *Personal Notes of Bishop Sandford*

Charles Waldegrave Sandford was born on February 13, 1828. He was the second son of the Rev. John Sandford, Vicar of Chillingham, who was later Rector of Alvechurch in Worcestershire, and Archdeacon of Coventry. He took a prominent part in the foundation of the Church of England Temperance Society in 1862. The future Bishop's grandfather was Dr. Daniel Sandford, Bishop of Edinburgh, 1806–1830.

Charles Sandford was educated at Rugby under Dr. Tait, and Christ Church, Oxford, which he entered in 1847. He took a high degree, and in 1855 was made Tutor, and in 1860 Senior Censor of the House. These offices he held until 1870. From 1864 till 1868 he was one of the chaplains of Dr. Tait, Bishop of London, and from 1868 till 1873 one of his Examining Chaplains after he became Archbishop of Canterbury. He left Oxford in 1870 for the Rectory of Bishopsbourne near Canterbury, a parish memorable as having had as Rector the illustrious theologian Richard Hooker; and when in 1887 he made himself a permanent home in Cannes, he named his house after his old parish.

In 1872 he became Rural Dean of Bridge Deanery. In 1873 he was nominated to the Bishopric of Gibraltar, and was consecrated on Sunday, February 1, 1874, in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Tait), his old Headmaster, the Bishops of London (Dr. Jackson), Chester (Dr. Stubbs), Carlisle (Dr. Goodwin), Exeter (Dr. Temple), Oxford (Dr. Mackarness), and Bishop Parry. He was installed at Gibraltar a fortnight later, on February 15.*

It will be seen that until his consecration in his forty-fifth year, his experience was chiefly academical. But his association with Dr. Tait, first as Bishop of London and later as Archbishop, added to this some insight into diocesan administration and outlook, and he was young enough to turn to the new life with freshness and whole-hearted devotion. Though he evidently entered it with a certain stiffness, and never wholly divested himself of the peculiar characteristics of a most courteous and considerate University Don, his natural genuineness and earnestness very soon made themselves felt and secured the appreciation of his flock, among whom he was to labour so long. But let his brother speak of what he was.

"The main influences of his life were three—first, his early home, the quiet village of a midland parish. His father's first curate, the father of distinguished sons, and himself bearing an honoured name, is still with us, and recalls, 'as though it were yesterday,' the little group of scholars—of whom the future Bishop was one—gathered round their mother, and from her learning their first lessons in Latin and Greek. For that mother his reverence was lifelong. And from that home he took not only the beginnings of the higher trainings—the scholarly, studious habit, and that thought for individual life, however humble, which grows so naturally in a country parish, but also the observation and appreciation of natural objects—the sympathy with nature in her quieter moods and gentler forms, of which *The Christian Year* is full. Like other representatives of a generation that is passing, he made it his habit to read

* R., pp. 74 ff.

Keble's poem for the day every Sunday after family prayer. The country home also explains his care for his garden and the love of flowers and insect life which were well known to his friends, and followed him all through a busy life. Here, too, was first gained the skill in cricket, football, fishing, and jumping, which made him an athlete in days before athletics were specialised or made professional. He was one of Nature's athletes, and stories of wonderful feats in the Rugby or Christ Church cricket fields and of fabulous jumps in Christ Church meadows were long extant among his contemporaries, and were pleasant, if half serious, memories to himself even in old age.

"Straight from the quiet home he went to a public school, and at Rugby he was brought under the second chief influence which moulded his character. For Rugby made him a disciple of Dr. Tait, and the sagacity, the breadth, the intellectual robustness of the great future Archbishop impressed themselves upon the pupil, just as the conscientious industry, the simple but cheerful earnestness of the pupil attracted the master, and made him his faithful friend through life. Charles Sandford was not a blind follower of any man, but he gave the greatest proof of his admiration for Tait in that, in his measure, he learnt to reflect some of his chief's greatest qualities—concentration on the greater things, that kind of moderation in judgment and breadth of view, which are characteristic, not of timidity or want of conviction, but of strength and grasp, and he loved him with a strong, personal affection which made the death of the Archbishop to him an irreparable loss.

"But it is not possible to fully understand Bishop Sandford without taking account of the influence which Oxford, and especially Christ Church, had upon him. He was a most loyal member of the House, and he worked in it and for it, first as undergraduate and ultimately as its Senior Censor, for more than twenty years. His portrait was hung during lifetime in Christ Church Hall, and he appreciated this affectionate recognition of his services as one of the greatest honours of his life. With the self-restraint which was a main characteristic through life, though regularly

playing for his College, he sacrificed his prospects of becoming distinguished as a University athlete in order that he might read the harder for his degree, and when he became a don his whole time and thought were at the disposal of his college and University. His far-sightedness and genuine but judicious sympathy with progressive action made him one of the chief leaders in the movement which resulted in the present constitution of Christ Church ; and his earnest and well-reasoned speech in the University Convocation against the unreasonableness of penalising Professor Jowett's laxity of view as a theologian by withholding from him his salary as a Greek professor, did much to secure the ultimate reversal of the policy. But while he gave he received. His power of handling men, and of knowing instinctively the line of action which would commend itself to English gentlemen and their acceptance of him as a leader worthy of trust, were due to his training at Christ Church, and to his tenure there of positions of authority. He knew the ways of English gentlemen, and they understood his—invaluable conditions in such relations as exist between a Bishop of Gibraltar and his diocese.

“But there were times when, if the occasion called, ‘sweet reasonableness’ made way for something more forcible. In early days the sixth form boy at Rugby had given evidence that he could speak out and act strongly when he thought right was at stake, and the Bishop's strong protest and resolute action against the gambling at Monaco told the same tale. Again no voice was more fervid, no advocacy more persistent on behalf of oppressed Armenians, or against outrages in Macedonia. In such cases no thought of self deterred him from speaking his mind. There was the spirit in him, not only of a mother's gentleness, but of a father's righteous indignation against toleration of evil.

“But the last thought is not here. The most attractive feature in his character was its constant and mindful consideration for others ; all through each stage of his long life personal sympathy with the individual has been its chief mark. From family, college, diocese, comes always the same testimony ; the memories always go back to traits, great or

small, of his kindness and affection. He was not without the wider, and perhaps higher forms of ambition, and it cost him something to leave the larger field of central life in England ; but having put his hand to the plough he did not look back ; resolutely he travelled, and wrote, and worked away from England for thirty years. And his method was not controversy with other Churches, nor even schemes of reunion, but the influence of gracious courtesy and kindly affection, in the exercise of which the kindred spirit of the wife whom he so deeply mourned was a daily inspiration and strength. Thus he brought fellowship of feeling into the relations with sister communities—the indispensable precursor of any formal rapprochement—and thus he helped the somewhat disintegrated life of English residents abroad to realize its corporate membership in the Church. The sailors in the Mediterranean ports, and many a lonely Englishwoman felt the touch of a kindly presence, and high and low were sensible that the Bishop understood the instincts which belong to sickness and sorrow. Most of all were those conscious of his sympathy and ready help who stood closest to him, and whose lives he helped to make. It was their deepest thought about him, and it will be the most abiding memory.” *

Of the personal life of Bishop Sandford little can be added to the evidence of the Pastorals. This is not a Memoir of so fine a character, and no attempt has been made to lay private letters under contribution. He worked with a serene dignity and extraordinary steadiness and regularity. His patience was to be seen in his face. He loved his people and clergy, and was proud of them ; and this made him feel only more keenly the pain of many “ministries of reconciliation” which fell to his lot. Of his attachment to fellow-labourers in the Diocese the innumerable references to them in his Pastoral Letters throughout thirty years bear witness. These abound in delicate and distinctive appreciations of laity and clergy, of men and women, alike. He was greatly touched by the gift of his portrait painted by Mr. Herbert Olivier on

* From *The Guardian*, Dec. 16, 1903 (by the kind permission of the Editor),

January 31, 1899, on the eve of the twenty-fifth anniversary of his consecration, together with an address expressing "thankfulness to Almighty God for the marked progress that has been made in all that pertains to the spiritual life of the widely scattered congregations" of which he had charge. A balance of £300 remained when all expenses connected with the portrait had been met; and this sum was at his desire invested for the benefit of the Gibraltar Mission to Seamen. When the portrait was accepted by the Governing Body of Christ Church, Oxford, where he had laboured for twenty years as student, tutor, and censor, and assigned a place in the majestic Hall of the House, he felt that a signal honour had been conferred on him.*

The death of Mrs. Sandford on June 1, 1901, was a severe blow in his old age. How great a part she had played in the later half of his episcopate is seen in his touching reference to her and to the sympathy extended to him in his Pastoral of that year. He persevered, however, in his ordinary work during the next two winters. A serious failure of strength which overcame him at Hyères on March 1, 1903, showed that he had overtaxed his strength, and in October, 1903, he informed the Diocese in his last Pastoral that "from no desire of rest or of freedom from labour and responsibility, but constrained by regard for the interests of the congregations committed" to him, he intended to resign his charge into younger hands on February 1, 1904 (or before, if thought desirable), on which day he would have completed the thirtieth year of his episcopate. Later he did this, his resignation to take effect on the date mentioned. But he fell on sleep at Cannes on December 8, 1903. Only two or three days before his death he heard of the proposal that Dr. W. E. Collins should succeed him, and the news made him glad and thankful.† His body rests in the cemetery there, with that of his wife. He was almost seventy-five years of age.

He left behind him a Diocese infinitely more formed, coherent, and effective than he found it, with a clear line of

* S., 1899, pp. 40 ff.; 1902, pp. 43 f.

† Dr. Collins' *Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese*, Jan. 18, 1904.

action laid down to be pursued in matters of gravest importance and perplexity. His name must ever command the profoundest gratitude, affection, and veneration of English Churchmen in Southern Europe, and in particular of the seamen whose calling brings them into our ports.

(3) *The Disestablishment of the Bishopric ; the repeal of the Consular Advances Act ; the extension of the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Gibraltar*

The first chapter in the life of the Diocese of Gibraltar closed with the death of Bishop Harris. The following pages will show its advance in maturity and coherence under Bishop Sandford. But at the very opening of his episcopate it was affected by the policy pursued by the home Government. What that policy was is stated thus in a work of recognized authority:—

“As a consequence of the decision in the Natal (Colenso) case, the Imperial Government determined to issue no more letters patent creating episcopal Sees ; and wherever throughout British dominions it had been found practicable to carry out the principle of religious equality by the disestablishment of churches previously placed by law on a footing of preference, and by refraining from any exercise of the prerogative for the creation of ecclesiastical offices or the appointment to vacant bishoprics, this has been done.” *

“Before 1873 Her Majesty’s Government came to the conclusion that the colonial churches should be disconnected from the State and that they would not in future appoint by patent bishops in the colonies with territorial jurisdiction, and accordingly laid down a rule of practice that facilities should be granted by legislative enactment to churches thus disestablished to form corporate bodies by which all religious matters should be administered without the interference of the Government, and to which all endowments, which it might

* Halsbury, *Encycl.*, vol. XII., p. 491, note (d).

prove expedient to maintain, might be handed over in trust for the use and benefit of their members, on the condition that the Colonial Government is satisfied that the purposes for which the money is to be applied are not contrary to public policy, and that thenceforth the Government would have all Church questions, including the expediency of maintaining a bishop for the Colony to be decided, without interference from the Government, by the Church bodies to be formed." *

Dr. Sandford was therefore not appointed by Letters Patent. The Queen issued a mandate (dated December 5, 1873) under the Sign Manual and Signet for his consecration "to be a Bishop to the intent that he should exercise his functions in one or more of Her Majesty's possessions abroad, and should also exercise with respect to the Churches, Congregations, and Clergy of the Members of the Church of England" within limits to be referred to later "all such functions as were formerly exercised by the Bishop of London for the time being and afterwards by the Bishop for the time being of Gibraltar." He was consecrated on February 1, 1874; and the Archbishop of Canterbury with the assent of the Bishop of London "pronounced, decreed, and declared" him to be "invested with all authority episcopal and ordinary within the limits prescribed to the end that he may exercise within the same limits all spiritual functions appertaining to his office."

In material ways this affected the Bishopric. The Bishop of Gibraltar ceased to be "a body corporate" and a "perpetual corporation," capable of holding property, acting in courts, and having a corporate seal. In consequence of this the Government endowments at Gibraltar, and endowments vested in the Bishop at Malta were now vested in bodies of Trustees. As years passed the inability of the Bishop to hold endowments in property, churches, and money as a Body corporate was severely felt. It is greatly to be regretted that a Diocesan Trust was not at once incorporated. This was not done until December 3, 1909 (see *infra*, p. 190); and

* Halsbury, *Encycl.*, vol. XI., p. 484, note (g).

even now the extension of the Trust is greatly to be desired. But in another direction also the change was great, and was not equally regrettable. The Bishop henceforth was selected by the Archbishop of Canterbury, not by the Crown. This puts him at once into a special relation with his Metropolitan. Further, he lost all "coercion ecclesiastical" in maintaining discipline. Although there is no record of any predecessor exercising any "coercion ecclesiastical" or availing himself of English courts of law, Bishop Sandford grasped the change from the first and never regretted it. He welcomed the freedom from "the possibly chilling shadow," to use Mr. Gladstone's phrase,* which coercive jurisdiction derived from the State cannot fail to cast over the relations of a Bishop with his charge, and the return to "the basis on which the Church of Christ rested from the first," and on which all Colonial Churches are now content to rest—the basis of voluntary consensual compact.† He believed that his jurisdiction being moral, voluntary and consensual, was adequately binding on all loyal clergy and congregations of the Church of England; and he agreed with Bishop Feild of Newfoundland, who had said a few years before (1866), in a Charge to his clergy on the removal of the Letters Patent as the basis of his episcopal authority, "On arriving in Newfoundland I was owned and accepted by the clergy as their bishop, they submitting to me their Licences and Letters of Orders, and renewing the promise of canonical obedience; this of itself was, and is, sufficient. I wanted, and want, no other authority. To the large majority of you the office and work of a priest in the Church of God were committed by my hands. From me you received authority to preach the word of God, and to minister the Holy Sacraments in the congregation, and you cannot, I conceive, claim and maintain your authority, or exercise your office, without a due acknowledgment of the source from which they were derived, both your office and authority—or without a like acknowledgment of your obligations, I mean, of canonical obedience and submission. It would be very grievous to me to think that we

* *Life* (abr. edn.), vol. I. p. 601.

† See *Ch. Q. R.*, Oct. 1877, p. 55.

desire any other bond of union than that of our spiritual relationship." * More will follow on this subject later (pp. 119 ff.) ; it is sufficient to say this much here.

Closely connected with this was the loss of the Consular and State-aided chaplaincies. In 1869 and subsequent years the Government notified the Governors of certain colonies, including Gibraltar, of their intention to enforce the principle of religious equality (although in Gibraltar the State aid of the Civil Chaplaincy has been acquiesced in on certain conditions). In strict adherence to this policy all State connection in any colony conferring a preference over other denominations has ceased. Thus in 1873 the allowance granted under the Consular Advances Act of 1825 in aid of chaplains at consular stations abroad was discontinued.†

So from the very beginning of his episcopate Bishop Sandford had to deal with the financial strain thus caused in one mercantile chaplaincy after another. In 1874 the grants in aid ceased at Genoa, Madeira, Nice, Lisbon, and Oporto. Grants at Naples and the Azores had been already lost through disputes between the congregations and chaplains. Grants were continued awhile, in consideration of the needs of British shipping, at Marseilles, Corfu, Malaga, and Trieste, and in view of special conditions at Smyrna and Leghorn. But those at Corfu and Leghorn ceased in 1881 ; that at Smyrna in 1890 ; and that at Malaga about 1893 ; that at Trieste in 1905 ; and that at Marseilles in 1909.‡ In 1895 the Government allowance to the Civil Chaplain at Malta was withdrawn.

The Bishop felt the distress thus caused acutely, and repeatedly refers to it in his Pastoral Letters. During the earlier years of his episcopate the Diocese had not sufficient coherence to meet it adequately ; and at the time, the wide and rapid withdrawal of what had been regarded as a stable and most reliable source of income was most disconcerting. But the call thus made on the Diocese as a whole contributed

* Tucker's *Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of Edward Feild, D.D.*, pp. 220f.

† Halsbury, *Encycl.*, vol. XI., p. 491, note (d).

‡ *A. C. M.*, 1905, July, p. xiv ; 1909, May, p. xv.

in the long run to develop diocesan cohesion and corporate life by the organisation of Church work among Seamen and the formation of the Gibraltar Mission to Seamen and later of the Poorer Chaplaincies Aid Fund, and thus as promoting zeal and self-help has been beneficial.*

In another direction it is to be noted that the withdrawal of this State-aid contributed to full diocesan life. It terminated such control as was exercised by the State through the Consulates on the churches and chapels, and thus left them free to pass under the jurisdiction of the Bishop as Diocesan. This has proved a great blessing, and made possible a clear line as to the regulation, fittings and ornaments, etc., of the churches to be followed by congregations, clergy and Bishop—the laws and uses of the Church of England, of which it will be seen that congregations were ready to avail themselves.

The limits of the Bishop's jurisdiction are set out in the Certificate of his Consecration. This is addressed to the Clergy and Laity of the Church of England resident in Gibraltar, Malta, and the dependencies of each, and also those "resident in Spain and Portugal, and in those parts of France and of the Empire of Austria which touch the Mediterranean Sea, and on the coast of Morocco, and in the island of Madeira and the Canary islands, and in the Kingdom of Italy and in the Kingdom of Greece, and on the Sea of Marmora and the Sea of Azov, and on the Lower Danube, and in the islands of the Mediterranean and islands of the Greek Archipelago." It will be observed that the limits are as extended by the F.O. Circular of 1869 (p. 79). The extension here gives ecclesiastical sanction to what might otherwise be regarded as a mere State regulation.

But these limits were modified considerably during this episcopate. In 1886 (May 25) the spiritual care of our people in Morocco outside the Straits of Gibraltar, and in Madeira and the Canary Isles was formally transferred to the Bishop of Sierra Leone, in order to provide him with "a happy equipoise to the African climate."† On March 10,

* See some instructive remarks in *Ch. Q. R.*, Oct., 1877, pp. 39 ff.

† S. 1886, p. 18; R., p. 107 ff.

1887, jurisdiction over Cyprus was transferred to the English Bishop in Jerusalem.* This island, not particularly specified in the Certificate as included in "the islands of the Mediterranean," had in a more special way a claim on the Bishop's care from 1878, when it was assigned to Great Britain by the Sultan as a "place of arms" in the Levant on certain terms, one of which was that if Russia evacuated her then recent Asiatic conquests the British should evacuate Cyprus. The Bishop had done much work in it; it possessed great interest for him, and he parted with it with regret. On the other hand, in 1892 the English in Rumania were included in the Diocese.†

It is clear that the term "the congregations on the shores of the Black Sea," used in the F.O. Circular of 1869 (see p. 79) in prescribing the Bishop of Gibraltar's limits of superintendence, and now used in the "Authority" granted by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, is a loose one, especially when the vastness of the Russian Empire is taken into account. The question must arise whether a congregation 50 or 250 miles from the actual seaboard is to be reckoned, for the purpose of episcopal superintendence by the Bishop of Gibraltar, "on the shores of the Black Sea?" It seems right that the Bishops of London and Gibraltar should arrange between themselves which congregations in Southern Russia should be regarded as claiming the latter Bishop's care, and this course has been adopted by Bishop Collins and the present Bishop (see *infra*, p. 186). There is no record of Bishop Sandford's doing so. He took the term "on the shores of the Black Sea" to mean strictly "on the actual sea-coast." So he regarded Odessa as the "extreme outpost of the Diocese," and repeatedly wrote of it as such;‡ and accordingly held that the congregation at Hughesovka, which in 1884 numbered 300 English, was outside his jurisdiction. But as his travels brought him face to face with these congregations, the sight of them "distressed and scattered, as sheep not having a shepherd," moved him

* S., 1887, p. 23 f.; Reg., p. 109 f. † S.C.P., 1892, p. 2.

‡ S., 1884, pp. 34, 43; 1885, p. 26; 1892, p. 20; 1894, p. 9; 1900, p. 28; 1902, p. 27.

with compassion, and he directed the chaplain at Odessa to visit first one, then another. In 1880 this chaplain was to visit eastward as far as Rostov,* and he licensed the Odessa chaplains "to officiate to British residents in other towns in the south of Russia where there is no English clergyman of any kind." The list of towns so visited grew apace. In 1891 it included Kiev, Taganrog, Hughesovka, and Rostov; and in 1900 it included no fewer than twenty communities, reaching to Baku on the Caspian, which is by rail 1628 miles from Odessa, and 580 miles east of Batoum on the shores of the Black Sea.† Such a task, exceeding the power of any one chaplain, has since been met by the establishment of chaplaincies at Hughesovka and Baku. But it was by this practical supervision and by personal visits that the Bishop *de facto* greatly extended his eastern jurisdiction. He was himself ready to undertake even greater responsibility, and writes in 1887, "I have repeatedly offered to extend the area of my supervision, and before arrangements were made for the episcopal superintendence of English congregations in Northern and Central Europe, I more than once offered the late Archbishop of Canterbury and the late Bishop of London to add those congregations to my charge, visiting them in the summer months. But my offer was not accepted. A few years ago the chaplains and members of the congregations at Biarritz, Pau, and other English resorts in South-Western France sent me a memorial expressing a desire to be included in the Diocese. Though I would have willingly acceded to their request, that project also fell to the ground."‡ The Bishop's successors, while admiring his courageous zeal, can only be thankful that it was thus disappointed.

In another direction the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Gibraltar was extended after the disestablishment. The Letters Patent and the Authority based on them gave the first three Bishops episcopal and ordinary jurisdiction over consecrated churches and chapels in Gibraltar, Malta and their dependencies, but were silent as to jurisdiction over

* S., 1880, p. 7; 1881, p. 6; 1884, p. 34.

† S., 1900, p. 28.

‡ S., 1887, p. 24.

churches* elsewhere, the congregations of which were under the Bishop's spiritual supervision. Into the possible reasons for this it is not necessary to enter. It seems from the case of the chapel at Rome (on which see *supra*, pp. 45, 67, 91), which was treated as an exceptional case in not being under the Bishop of Gibraltar's superintendence, that in a general way it was understood that churches and chapels of the congregations under the Bishop of Gibraltar's superintendence were under his visiting care. This is implied in the resolution passed at Nice in 1875 (see *infra*, p. 115). But Bishop Sandford was consecrated according to the Royal Mandate, "to the intent that he should exercise his functions in one or more of Her Majesty's possessions abroad, and should also exercise with respect to the *Churches, Congregations, and Clergy* of the members of the Church of England" within the limits prescribed (which have been mentioned above) all such functions as were formerly exercised by the Bishop of London for the time being, and afterwards by the Bishop for the time being of Gibraltar." This makes it clear that the Bishop of Gibraltar had already by custom exercised some episcopal functions in respect to churches; but this mandate and consecration puts such exercise on a settled footing. The Bishop of London's jurisdiction was "universally admitted and recognized in all churches on the Continent" of congregations under his charge as Diocesan;† and there was no distinction between his authority as Diocesan over churches in England and that which he exercised over his Continental churches. This consecration therefore placed the Bishop of Gibraltar's jurisdiction over English churches and chapels within the limits of his supervision on a clear footing as that which an English Bishop exercises over churches within his Diocese. Further,

* Episcopal jurisdiction over all consular chapels was recommended in Mr. Burgess' Report, after inquiry made at the desire of the Bishop of London in 1850. See C. C. C., 1850, May, p. 436.

† So the Bishop of London formally declared in 1871 in connexion with a Belgian case. In the case of the chapel at Rome the Bishop of London's jurisdiction over the chapel as Diocesan was never denied, and the Bishop of Gibraltar could have "visited" it as Commissary for him. See p. 67 *n.* and C. C. C., 1865, p. 185.

the termination of consular chaplaincies left the churches of the congregations belonging to them under the Bishop of Gibraltar's unquestioned jurisdiction.

How this extension of authority was received is illustrated by a resolution passed at a public meeting of British subjects in communion with the Church of England in Nice on January 2 and 6, 1875, held on receipt of the decision of the Government that from and after December 31, 1874, all connection between Holy Trinity Church and H.M.'s Government was to terminate. It runs: "That, in conformity with the instructions conveyed by H.M.'s Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the Consul at Nice on the 20th of October, 1842, when the See of Gibraltar was first created, the Lord Bishop of Gibraltar, and each of his successors for the time being, shall be, and hereby is, requested and empowered henceforth to exercise such authority over the said *Church* and Chaplain *as is by law vested in the Bishop of an English Diocese.*" So the "scheme for the Regulation and Government of the English Church at Palermo," duly approved by the Bishop (October 30, 1876), provides "That the Lord Bishop of Gibraltar for the time being, be, and hereby is, requested and empowered to exercise over the said *Church* and its Chaplain authority similar to that vested by law in a Bishop of the Established Church of England along with such powers as shall be conferred on him in this deed." Such acceptance of the Bishop's authority as Ordinary of the Churches belonged to the general wish that the Church life of the Diocese should correspond to that of an English diocese; and, indeed, only the Bishop's authority as Ordinary could be a Diocesan authority to maintain in the churches the standard of the order and use of the Church of England. How the Bishop himself regarded and presented this part of his Episcopal and Ordinary authority will be seen later.

CHAPTER IX

THE EPISCOPATE OF BISHOP SANDFORD (*continued*) THE INTERNAL LIFE OF THE DIOCESE

(1) *The formative work of Bishop Sandford in the Diocese*

THE Bishop's formative work in his Diocese, carried on without cessation during his long episcopate, may be described as the satisfaction of the demand made twenty years before that the Church of England should be represented dealing with Greeks and Latins as a Church, and refusing to be swamped in a crude Protestantism.* That demand had original reference to the work of the Church of England in Constantinople. But Bishop Sandford strove to satisfy it throughout his wide-flung Diocese, and in a wonderful degree succeeded in doing so. His firm hold on great principles enabled him to do this; and his insistent and unceasing appeals to them gradually gave a form and order to the Diocese, which permeated the minds of both clergy and congregations. His power of clear exposition, his unwearied repetition of what needed saying, and his practical attention to details combined to effect this. His way was prepared for him by his predecessors, more particularly by Bishop Harris, who had made the person of the Bishop a living factor in the life of the congregations. But none of them had taught and justified his teaching in the same precise manner. He found a general desire in the chaplaincies to live, as far as local conditions allowed, as English parishes under an English Diocesan. He left the

* C.C.C., 1855, Nov., p. 177; Dec., p. 240.

Diocese with clear teaching as to what this meant, and with rulings and precedents which are now a constant guide.

He consistently set forth that he was a Diocesan Bishop, and that his charge was a "Diocese." He did not use the word "Diocese" as implying *territorial* jurisdiction. His episcopal charge was one of souls, not of places or territory. His field of activity was confined to the members of his own Church, who were not acknowledged by the Church or Bishops of the country in which they resided, and in which he was appointed to work.* Both in England and in his Diocese he was ready to justify the Bishopric, its Bishop, clergy, and congregations fully and patiently. Although other lines of apology (*sensu proprio*) were open, he rested by experience upon practical rather than theoretical grounds. The Church of England was bound to see that her own children received the ministrations of the Word and Sacraments wherever they were; and consequently as the local churches could not and would not minister to them while they remained loyal members of the Church of their baptism, it was necessary and fitting that the Church of England should do so; and the Bishopric was the ordinary way in which that ministry should be fulfilled. "Our chaplaincies are established in an Episcopal form, because at home we are Episcopalians, and not Congregationalists or Independents. It is not the way of our Church to leave each congregation free to do exactly what seems good in its own eyes. Our congregations in England are subject to Episcopal supervision; and it has been deemed desirable by the Church of England that the same system should be extended to her congregations abroad."† The Diocese thus as a Diocese was the Church of England's provision for her children; and at the same time it represented the Church of England to and among the great communions of the Latin and Greek Churches. He held that this representative character belonged not to the Bishop alone, but to Bishop, Clergy,

* S., 1894, p. 28.

† S., 1878, p. 19; 1894, pp. 21, 27; S.C.P., 1892, p. 8; and esp. C.Q.R., Jan., 1878, pp. 365 ff.

Congregations, and their Churches together. Together they form "an Epistle known and read of all men" as to our worship, faith, and life.* Thus he exhorted his Diocese to stand as a Diocese, part of and representative of the whole Church of England, in a definite position towards the Latin and Greek Churches. Of this fuller notice will be taken later; here it is sufficient to say that towards the historic Churches of the East he urged an attitude of brotherly recognition, requiring the same with acknowledgment of the validity of our Sacraments; and he marked as the goal of present efforts towards reunion mutual appreciation, recognition, acknowledgment of independent vocation, and, when opportunity offered, intercommunion rather than a rearrangement of our own confessions of faith, or assimilation of our forms and ceremonies to those of the Orthodox Church. Towards the Churches of the Roman Communion he pressed for the same attitude, in spite of the coldness, "or I might say hostility," displayed towards us. While entertaining great sympathy for the movements of reform in Portugal, Spain, Italy, and France, he declined to take part in furthering them. To join these would be to use a liberty accorded to us for the purpose of attacking and weakening the Church of the land, and would be a clear act of intrusion. While never shutting his eyes to the need of reform in both the Greek and Roman Churches he consistently held that it was by living up to their representative character in faith, worship and life, that English Churchmen in the Diocese would render the best service to both those Churches. He was never tired of insisting that "it is by showing what the Church of England really is, when its principles, doctrines, and worship are exhibited in their true colours, and not by making here and there a few stray proselytes, that we shall render most effective aid to the work of internal reformation."†

On the other hand, he never wearied of impressing upon his clergy and congregations the fact that as sharing the doctrines, government, and order of the Church of England

* S., 1894, p. 30; 1875, p. 12; 1878, p. 53.

† S., 1879, p. 20; 1880, p. 63; 1894, pp. 30 ff.

and so "bound to maintain the rightful position of that Church as a true and reformed part of Christ's One Catholic and Apostolic Church at all times and with all our power,"* they must not shrink making those principles and doctrines, and that government and order, fully their own in practice in every chaplaincy. Whether as to duties and responsibilities, privileges or rights of himself as Diocesan Bishop, or of the clergy, or of the congregations, he clearly claimed that these were determined by the custom and principles of the Church of England, and he looked for acknowledgment of this. He gloried rather than otherwise in the fact that his authority was not coercive, resting on Letters Patent, but moral, voluntary and consensual. It was in his eyes none the less binding on loyal Churchmen, and especially on the clergy in virtue of their ordination pledges and acceptance of his licence;† and, like Bishop Feild, he desired nothing more. He declared that it was his duty, as Bishop, to license and visit the clergy — decide as to whether a chaplaincy should be established, a chapel opened, or services held; to regulate Public Worship, both as to its order and externals; to sanction changes of ritual.‡ As the customs, rubrics, and laws of the Church of England were to be observed in this Diocese, so it was his duty to maintain them, as it had always been the duty of the Bishop of Gibraltar. He held himself bound to keep English congregations abroad in conformity with the doctrines and ceremonial of the Church at home, and the securing that the laws and discipline of the Church were observed in the congregations under his supervision was regarded by him as an important function of his office. So he worked for reasonable rubrical conformity; strove to set right irregularities; claimed that he was the proper authority to decide questions touching the obligation and interpretation of rubrics; and gladly acknowledged the general readiness displayed to seek his rulings and abide by them. He held that by granting a licence the Bishop became in a manner responsible for the character of the services which a licensed

* S., 1894, p. 31.

† S., 1878, pp. 23 f.; 1879, p. 25; 1890, p. 8; S.C.P., 1884, p. 6.

‡ S., 1890, p. 8; 1894, p. 7; 1898, p. 15, 1899, p. 40; 1878, pp. 10, 54.

chaplain conducts.* At the same time he held that the action of the Bishop was regulated by the same laws, customs and rubrics, and he could not, in order to satisfy his own personal taste or judgment, limit any liberty which the Church gives her ministers, nor forbid usages not positively forbidden by the Church. In this last matter, he felt even that the Bishop had better not advise, if he anticipated that his advice would be disregarded.†

His clear and consistent action did much to attract the confidence of the clergy and congregations. He required all chaplains whether permanent or temporary, visiting clergy and locum tenentes to be licensed. When licensed they became responsible to him as their Ordinary for all ministry within the Diocese, and he relied on their loyalty to their ordination vows. He insisted that a chaplain nominated by a Society if called away from the chaplaincy, should resign his licence to him himself, and give him information directly, not leaving it to the Society to do so. He pointed out that the licence protected and secured the clergy; and that it was his own duty after granting the licence to uphold their rights against improper interference. He left them the full liberty of the Church of England, placing the matters spiritual within their chaplaincies under their charge, and accepting for confirmation only candidates presented by them. He gave clear directions as to their duty with regard to changes in ritual and public worship. He instructed them that they represented in their charges not a Society, or Trustees, or patrons, but the Church of England; and pressed on them the duty of avoiding in our Diocese the party divisions and spirit so damaging to Church life in England. He won the clergy by his grasp, not only of the opportunities but also of the difficulties of a chaplain in South Europe and by the confidence he placed in them, as much as by his efforts to secure their temporal welfare, of which mention will appear later. He could appreciate the gratuitous labour for English people of missionaries of the London Mission to the Jews, and when need be plead for consideration for them on the ground

* S., 1876, p. 11; 1878, pp. 23 f.; 1898, pp. 15-18.

† S., 1878, p. 24; 1902, p. 16.

of their ignorance of English parochial life through long devotion to their peculiar vocation.*

In the same way he won the trust of the congregations. While he insisted that as congregations of the Church of England they were, as the clergy, bound by its doctrines, ceremonial, customs, and discipline, and that in matters spiritual and the conduct of public worship the responsibility rested with the chaplain, he pointed out that he too by the granting of the licence was bound to be their defender in case of need. He threw all his weight against hasty and inconsiderate changes of service or ritual, or change which he had not, as Bishop, approved; and demanded consideration of the congregation in the adoption of a type of service. He pointed out, that though conditions in the Diocese were frequently exceptional, the principle of the Church of England as to the disposal of Church collections was that this should rest not with the Consul, or Trustees, or a Committee, or Chaplain alone or Churchwardens alone, but with the Minister and Churchwardens together, with appeal in case of any difference to the Bishop. He ever presented the flock as having a right to the best service of the clergy, whether as to visiting, sermons, teaching of the young, doctrinal instruction, life, and loyalty to the Church of England. He evidently regarded with apprehension the control exercised over congregations by Societies which claimed patronage in return for holding properties, and advised congregations to guard themselves against such external control by vesting their properties in the National Society (so long as that Society was willing to hold such property) which made no such claim. And thus it is not surprising to find questions as to the externals of public worship referred to him; to find the Anglican Congregation at Nice in 1875 "requesting and empowering him and his successors to exercise over their Church and Chaplain such authority as is by law vested in the Bishop of an English Diocese"; the scheme for the regulation and government of the Church at Palermo submitted to him for approval in

* 1878, pp. 10, 21, 24 f., 54; 1890, pp. 8 f., 40; 1892, p. 15; 1902, pp. 11 ff., 15 f., S.C.P., 1884, pp. 6 f.; 1892, p. 8.

1876; the Trust Deed of St. Mark's, Florence, in 1884, providing that "the Chaplain should recognize and undertake in writing to conform to the same ecclesiastical laws and usages as exist between Bishops and incumbents in English Dioceses." *

It must not be supposed that the Bishop gave all such direction in an abstract manner. On the contrary, it was drawn out in almost every case by conditions which needed it, and it was usually corrective of what was irregular or at variance with the established use and order of the Church of England. It is clear that the circumstances which drew it from him frequently gave him much trouble. But his steadfast, gentle, and constant appeal to the Church of England ultimately effected a great change in the Diocese, and its present orderliness is mainly due to him. Our clergy and congregations now, as a whole, know what is the standard and rule which regulates their Church life; and thus he gave a formal and systematic shape to the diocesan life which Bishop Harris had begun to evoke and made possible. To many outside the Diocese much, if not all, of this reiterated instruction may appear unnecessary, or commonplace. But it was not so in the Diocese of Gibraltar, as any one will recognize who has grasped the isolation, the history, the conditions of our communities, and the influences and traditions of a congregational independence which had for so long affected them.

But Bishop Sandford was not satisfied with calling on his Diocese to conform gladly and proudly, as in duty bound, to the order, faith and principles of the Church of England. Had he done this and no more, he might have presented that Church to his congregations as exercising rightly a great and wise control, but as in some sense external to the Diocese instead of embracing it. He guarded against this by endeavouring to draw the life of the Diocese into the ampler life of the Mother Church, and to make his people realize that the interests of the whole Church of England were truly

* S.C.P., 1884, p. 2; S., 1878, pp. 10, 34 f., 54 f., 59; 1879, p. 6; 1888, pp. 12, 13; 1892, pp. 7, 10, 16; 1898, p. 15; 1902, p. 10. Reg., pp. 83, 90. Nice Church Minutes, Jan. 2 and 6, 1875.

theirs. From time to time, and increasingly as years passed, he laid before them in his Annual Pastoral Letters the great controversies and questions which moved the Church at home, frequently at great fullness, with the pastoral concern and wisdom of an Anglican Father in God, with the skill, the knowledge and the outlook of a fine scholar and theologian, and with a beautiful directness and clearness. Thus he treated the subjects of Evening Communion and obligation to Fasting Reception (1893); the authority of Holy Scripture (1894); the Encyclical of Leo XIII. and the papal attack on Anglican Orders, and the Reply of the English Archbishops (1896); Auricular and Private Confession (1878, and again at great length, 1898); Discipline and Ritual (1898); Dogma and Doctrine (1903). In 1899 he laid before the Diocese the Archbishop's decision as to Incense and the use of Lights in procession, and directed that it should be recognized in the Diocese as authoritative. In 1876, and again in 1878, he tried to secure in the Diocese appreciation and observance of the Day of Intercession for Foreign Missions as in England, and in 1900 of the celebration of the Bicentenary of S.P.G. In 1878 he communicated to the Diocese the Report of the Lower House of Convocation on the spiritual provision required for British Seamen in Foreign ports. On the occasions of the Lambeth Conferences of 1878, 1888, and 1897, in which he himself took part, he strove to make his people realize the significance and work of the Conference. He drew their attention to Resolutions and Recommendations which specially affected a Diocese such as his own, such as those relating to the position of English chaplains abroad (1878), the observance of Sunday, definiteness in teaching, the Old Catholics and other reforming bodies in Italy, Spain and Portugal (1888); and he set forth in 1897, the functions, position, and authority of the Conference, and the nature of the Consultative Body which the Conference of that year proposed to establish.

In correspondence with the movement at home for the Reunion of Christendom, he gave most careful guidance (in 1895) as to the problems to be met, means to be used, and prospects to be entertained. In 1899 he explained the fears

raised in England by his endeavours to promote friendly feeling and a better understanding between the Anglican and the Orthodox Greek Churches, and treated the great points of difference and agreement in worship and doctrine between the two Churches. He was himself an acceptable speaker at Church Congresses, and usually handled subjects closely connected with the Diocese. But he was careful to let his Diocese know what he said at home of it and its tasks. Thus he printed and circulated his speeches and papers, as the speech (in 1880) on the condition of the Greek Church, and the relation of the Churches of the East to the Church of England; the paper (1884) on "Foreign chaplaincies: their episcopal supervision, and the relation of English and American Churches"; the address (1885) on the attitude of the Church with respect to movements in Foreign Churches; the paper (1892) on the Work of the Church of England on the Continent. In 1878 he contributed an article to the *Church Quarterly Review* on "English Churchmen on the Continent," tracing the history of the Diocese, justifying the Bishopric, and criticizing with some severity the lack of thorough churchmanship in a certain Society in points some of which have since received attention. The article was practically a presentation of the Diocese to the Church at home, and was of necessity originally anonymous. But in his next Pastoral the Bishop acknowledged to his Diocese the authorship of it, and commended it to the study of his flock. It is to be noted, too, that while he strove to weld his Diocese solidaire with the home Church, his public utterances, the position which his long tenure of the See gave him as spokesman for the English Church in Southern Europe, and his readiness to plead in England for special needs of the Diocese, steadily promoted at home knowledge of the Diocese and its peculiar conditions, life, and work.

It is possible, and indeed probable, that the bulk of the readers of the Bishop's annual Pastoral Letters attended chiefly to the chronicle they contain of the activities and projects of the Diocese and their gracious acknowledgments of services of Laity and Clergy. But the cumulative effect of such regular teaching must have been very great on his

thoughtful Churchmen, and it must have made them feel that the problems, the tasks, the position, the counsels, the life of the whole Church of England were theirs, and that they were expected to have an intelligent share therein. In reading those weighty instructions addressed by a Bishop of Gibraltar to his people, the progress made by the Diocese in Church life since 1842 and the formative worth of this long episcopate is impressively felt. The Bishop shaped and inspired the life of a Diocese of the Church of England.

(2) *The internal growth of the Diocese, 1874-1903*

Advance in Diocesan coherence.—The *Visitation Notes* of Bishop Harris give a striking picture of the want of coherence and solidarity, and of the absence of diocesan spirit in our Diocese when Bishop Sandford came to the See. The response to the appeal of his predecessor for £400 a year for the Diocesan Spiritual Aid Fund was actually under £100. For a few years there was little change apparent, and the Bishop's long illness which laid him aside for 1877-1878, prevented his pressing the call. Later he followed Bishop Harris's example, gave up all idea of long residence at Malta or Gibraltar, and travelled incessantly.* He soon formed a scheme of travel which he maintained during his episcopate. He tried to visit the extreme eastern and western portions of his jurisdiction triennially, and the centre annually or biennially. He does not appear at any time to have considered the charge overwhelming, and indeed he was willing (see p. 113) to take the chaplaincies of North and Central Europe under his care. He thus rapidly gained personal knowledge of the chaplaincies and access to homes and hearts.

But he soon perceived and strove to remedy the want of coherence. He wrote in 1887: "My endeavour since I have been Bishop has been to foster a sense of unity in the scattered and isolated congregations under my superintendence, and to make them feel that they are members

* S., 1884, p. 44.

of one Diocese, having common interests, common duties, and a common life." He felt the self-centredness of the chaplaincies, and their indifference to communities far sundered from them, of which indeed they knew little or nothing. Feeling that common action would promote diocesan spirit he pleaded hard for the Gibraltar Diocesan Spiritual Aid Fund. In 1879 he wrote in his Pastoral Letter: "It is a mistake to restrict our thoughts and sympathy to ourselves. By supporting this Diocesan Fund you are giving a kind of unity to the Diocese. Independent and isolated as our congregations are, they have a common work and a common life; and by assisting such members as require assistance you show that you take an interest in this common work, and are anxious to sustain this common life." But response was so feeble that in 1881, including the Bishop's own contribution and that of his friends at Oxford, to whom he appealed, it failed to reach £400, and some of the larger and wealthier congregations abstained from thus giving help to the general work of the Diocese.* This was probably due to various causes: general ignorance of conditions prevailing in so broken a Jurisdiction, lack of diocesan self-reliance, and the want of an appeal which would in a striking way touch hearts and sympathies.

The first of these causes was in some measure met by the Bishop's regular visits and speeches, and especially by his Pastoral Letters. These, however, from their size and cost, probably did not obtain really universal currency; and as they appeared only annually, they failed to "get home" in the peculiar way in which a cheaper and more frequent periodical can. How many Churchpeople in an English Diocese attend to an annual Diocesan Hand-Book? It is further to be borne in mind that the Diocese was accustomed to look for "Spiritual aid" not to itself but to Societies in England, as in earlier days the communities had looked to Companies and State aid; and that the growing and wealthier Riviera communities were engrossed in building their own churches and maintaining their own chaplaincies.

But in 1881 and the following years the Bishop's growing

* S., 1881, p. 3.

grasp of the conditions of British Seamen led him to appeal in the strongest way on their behalf. For awhile he did so in the name of the Spiritual Aid Fund, and used the income of that fund almost entirely in providing ministrations for them.* The insistent appeal of 1883 was followed by a great increase in both subscriptions and interest, and in 1884 "the Bishop of Gibraltar's Mission to Seamen" began to replace the older Fund, which disappeared in 1889 in "the Gibraltar Mission to Seamen in the Mediterranean." A fuller account of the Mission will be given within a few pages. It is mentioned here because it created directly and effectively what was felt to be a diocesan cause. It appealed in a special way to both the settled colonies, the majority of which are resident in great ports, and also the hearts of the Riviera communities, and so became at once, as a common and attractive work, a bond of union. The Bishop wrote in 1887 that "The G.M.S. is the one enterprise conducted on the principle of united action extended throughout the Diocese." As such it has served to draw the less permanent communities into the interest and life of the Diocese, and weld them to the others.

A third contribution to the stimulating of diocesan spirit and coherence was made by the Conferences of the Riviera clergy. The first of these—the first conference of English clergy held in South Europe—met at Mentone on April 14, 1884, when eighteen clergy were present. From that year such conferences have been held with increasing frequency in different centres, and the fact that from 1887 the Bishop made his settled home at Cannes enabled him usually to be present. These gatherings of the clergy, well attended (as many as twenty-eight were present at Cannes in 1889), did something more than create a spirit of brotherliness. They served to spread knowledge of the Diocese, and to draw together into co-operation men of different types of Churchmanship. But they were necessarily limited to the clergy of a comparatively small area; it was impossible to gather to them the clergy of the far East, the West, and North Africa; and the laity had no share in them.

* S., 1881 p. 6.

The first General Diocesan Conference of 1894.—

These conferences led to the first general Diocesan Conference of Clergy and Laity of 1894, which met on July 10 and 11 in Westminster. It opened with a Celebration of the Holy Communion in Henry VII.'s Chapel, and the Conference sat in the large Hall of the Church House. The Secretaries were the Rev. Canon Sidebotham of St. John's, Mentone, and the Rev. A. T. Barnett, of Bordighera. Between 50 and 60 attended, the clergy representing Gibraltar, Malta, Oporto, Marseilles, Cannes, Nice, and Mentone, San Remo, Bordighera, Genoa, Rome, Naples and Palermo, Algiers, and Odessa. Among the laity were Sir Theodore Hope, General Chamberlain, Colonel Haggarth, Mr. E. N. Rolfe, Captain Dawson, R.N., Drs. Freeman, Hutchinson, Siordet, and Ashmore Noakes, and Mr. Dudley Smith. Besides receiving the inaugural and closing addresses of the Bishop, the Conference discussed the following subjects which he termed "of vital importance to our own Church, and to the Church at large."

1. The attitude of English Churchmen abroad towards the Church of the country in which they are sojourning.
2. The duty of English Churchmen on the Continent to make manifest and maintain the true position of the Church of England.
3. Encouragements and difficulties in the work of our Church on the Continent.
4. The duty of our Church to our Seamen in Foreign Ports.

It is impossible here to give a detailed account of the Conference. The President's two addresses are printed in his Pastoral Letter of 1894, and a full report is given in the *Anglican Church Magazine* of August and September. Far more important than its details was the fact that such a conference was held. It is true that the representation of Spain and the East was inadequate. But it marked a great step taken towards attaining solidarity in the Diocese: and the effect is described by one of the clergy present, the Rev.

A. Burnell, Chaplain at Bilbao, who in the last speech of the Conference "concluded by saying that though he been in the Diocese fifteen years, he had never before known any brother Chaplain. He should now return to his isolated post with the feeling that he belonged to a corporate body, that he was not a mere fragment and atom struggling all alone, but that there were people who understood his difficulties and sympathized with him." Such a result alone amply justified the great labour and expense such a conference involved in a Diocese like ours. But it prepared the way for something greater—the self-regulation as a Diocese of the Church which belongs to it of right.

Increase in number of clergy.—Of the changes in the extent of the Diocese made during this period, mention has been made already (p. 111). In 1886 the congregations west of Tangier, with those of Madeira and the Canary Islands were transferred to the Diocese of Sierra Leone, and Cyprus to the charge of the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem in 1887. In 1892 the care of the Roumanian Colonies was undertaken by Bishop Sandford. He surrendered Cyprus "with extreme regret." He had consecrated cemeteries and a church there, maintained a chaplaincy with much difficulty, and the island had great interest for him.* In spite of this, the number of chaplains and chaplaincies increased steadily. In 1875 there were 63 licensed clergy, including nine serving in the L.J.S. and the C.M.S. The latter Society withdrew its clergy from Syra and Boudjah in 1881 and from Constantinople in 1878, but the number had risen in 1884 to 68, in 1894 to 72, and in 1903 to 75. Some of these were assistant clergy, others settled in small communities and licensed to minister to them. Besides these settled clergy there were an increasing number of summer and winter temporary chaplaincies, of which the Bishop mentions 12 in 1878, and 33 in 1903.

Of the Bishop's steady drawing of these into an ordered Diocesan life something has been already said. He carried on the fatherly influence of Bishop Harris, and exerted

* S., 1879, p. 17 ; 1882, p. 22 ; 1884, p. 47 ; 1886, pp. 10-12 ; 1887, pp. 23 ff.

himself to raise the standard of preaching and visiting, pressing for daily services, scrupulous care in ministration of the Eucharist, and a seemly dignity in Church fittings and worship. He gave minute directions concerning the service of Confirmation, singing, the cleansing of the holy vessels. In October, 1876, he issued very careful Letters of Enquiry to the clergy, and received replies from 40 chaplaincies. The text of the Letters is given in his Pastoral Letter for 1878, together with some comments on the replies. But in 1891 he records that these valuable records had disappeared, and issued fresh Letters, to which replies were received from 56 chaplaincies. The text is given again, and some consideration of the returns, but these likewise have perished.* The recovery of these returns would throw a great light on the state of the Diocese and of particular chaplaincies; but at present no trace of them can be found. The Bishop's comments reveal a satisfaction with the increasing activity of the clergy, and the building of churches; a disappointment that some chaplains made no returns; that registers were carelessly kept; and that many congregations were indifferent to diocesan work; a sense of the difficulties caused by the smallness of resources and varieties of tenure of Church property; a gratitude to Societies; and a deep appreciation of the value of visiting and teaching, especially of children.

Parsonages.—The maintenance and welfare of the chaplains was ever at the Bishop's heart. In particular this appeared in his constant effort to promote the provision of Parsonages. This he regarded as a valuable form of endowment. He pressed for it insistently from 1890 onwards, and notes gratefully in his Pastoral Letters year by year each addition to the list. In 1903 he left fourteen in the Diocese.† At the very close of his episcopate he received with great satisfaction a recommendation from the Finance Committee that Easter Offerings should be asked for, and one of his last acts was to issue a letter commending this with much warmth to the congregations.‡ But he cared not only for the temporal

* S., 1891, pp. 14 f.; 1892, pp. 5 f.

† S., 1890, p. 25; 1892, p. 6; 1903, p. 39.

‡ S., 1903, pp. 38, 55, 57.

welfare of the clergy. He was most anxious for their study and knowledge. He urged on them the work of the Church Reading Union, introduced into the Diocese the Central Society of Sacred Study,* and set forth in his Pastoral Letters the subjects of study of these societies. A scholar and student himself, he was constantly anxious that the clergy should have a guidance in study which separation from England made specially difficult for them.

Lay-Readers.—During these thirty years the ministry of the Laity received a recognized position and much extension in the Diocese. From early days godly officials of the Levant Company and the State had been used to hold services and to bury the dead, and many consulates were the centres of the religious as well as the commercial life of chaplainless communities. Early in his episcopate Bishop Sandford found men whom he could call Lay-helpers. But from 1876 he gave such fellow-workers a definite status, licensing them as Lay-Readers. The numbers grew from three in 1876 to nine in 1884, eleven in 1894, and twenty-one in 1903. Included in these were the managers of many Seamen's Institutes, whose religious work the Bishop was always anxious to keep to the front. He urged the blessing of services held by Consuls, and gladly welcomed and acknowledged the help of such gentlemen in preparing Candidates for Confirmation, as that of Mr. (afterwards Sir) Percy Sanderson at Galatz.† What the Bishop did in this direction has proved of lasting benefit, and its worth was strikingly shown in the course of the great war, when many of these Lay-Readers rendered priceless service to the Church, and to their colonies.

This is a fitting place for reference to Bishop Sandford's reliance on the laymen of the Diocese. How great it was appears in his words in his letter of 1878. After thanking them for their help in such matters as church-building and

* S., 1891, p. 10 ; 1893, p. 49 ; 1894, p. 12 ; 1896, p. 57 ; 1897, p. 43 ; 1900, p. 34 ; 1901, p. 33.

† See esp. S., 1876, p. 10 ; 1878, p. 41 ; 1893, p. 55 ; 1895, p. 46.

the provision of clubs and homes for British Seamen, he writes (p. 52):—

“Some of you I have also to thank for your assistance in framing new constitutions for the congregations which have been lately thrown on the voluntary system (the reference is to the withdrawal of Consular Aid), and in serving as members of Church-committees, and as Churchwardens. If here and there the property of the churches which you have built is not legally secured, if here and there rules of ecclesiastical order are neglected, if here and there the character of public worship requires to be improved, I look to you for zealous co-operation in supplying omissions, in discountenancing and discouraging irregularities, in rendering our services more hearty, more attractive, more provocative of reverence, and in supporting the clergy in the efforts which they are making to render English churches abroad, so far as circumstances admit, faithful representatives of our Church at home.”

Any student of his Letters will find in them many evidences of this reliance, and of his appreciation of services rendered, especially in the obituary notices, though not in these alone; for he did not wait till his friend was dead to express his gratitude.

Church-building.—The building, rebuilding and improvement of churches went on apace during these years. It is to be remembered that in Italy until 1860 and in Spain till still later, the law of the State forbade our churches having any ecclesiastical form, and they were therefore not discernible externally from domestic buildings. The sketch preserved of the church built at Nice in 1821 strikingly illustrates this; and in consequence many of our early churches, though homes of prayer, did not give the aid which the beauty of holiness renders to Divine worship. The Bishop was always anxious that the churches and their worship should worthily represent in dignity and beauty the spirit of the Church of England; his Letters are full of references to



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efforts made in this, and to success attained ; and a comparison of the Nice sketch with the present Holy Trinity Church, or with our churches in Lisbon, Cannes, San Remo (All Saints'), Genoa, Florence (Holy Trinity), Rome (All Saints'), Palermo, and others too many to mention will show how great those efforts and that success have been. It is impossible to describe particularly the churches built and consecrated during these years. The Bishop took the greatest interest in the building of All Saints' at Rome, and personally pleaded in England for contributions for a Church in that city which should be really representative ; and All Saints' itself was a great joy to him. Between 1874 and 1903 his Letters record the consecration or dedication of twenty-one churches during his episcopate,* and the building of ten others which for various reasons were not consecrated.

Though most anxious that English Churches should be erected, Bishop Sandford was not in favour of building them unless due provision were made for their proper maintenance. Early in his episcopate he foresaw the difficulty which would arise if a church were built in a place which the English ceased later to frequent, both as to its due use and maintenance, and the payment of rates and taxes. Accordingly he advocated the setting apart of a Repair Fund, and even the provision of a right of sale in certain contingencies in any deed of conveyance vesting a church in a Society or Trustees. Experience has shown how greatly it is to be regretted that his advice as to the establishment of a church

* 1874 : Hyères (the old church) ; San Remo, St. John's (old church) ; St. Andrew's, Patras. 1883 : St. John Ev., Alassio ; H. Trinity, Rome ; All Saints', Bordighera ; St. John Ev., Pegli. 1884 : All Saints', San Remo ; St. Paul's, Hyères ; Embassy Chapel, Therapia. 1886 : St. Paul's, Nicosia (Cyprus). 1887 : St. George's, Cannes. 1888 : St. James', Bellagio. 1889 : St. George's, Lisbon. 1891 : The Church of the Ascension, Cadenabbia. 1892 : St. John Ev., Grasse. 1902 : St. John Baptist's, San Remo ; All Saints', Kadikeui ; St. John Ev., Smyrna ; All Saints', Marseilles. 1903 : St. Michael's, Beaulieu (by the Archbishop of York under commission). In addition, the following were built, but not consecrated :—1874 : Tunis (old church) ; Bilbao. 1881 : H. Trinity, Ajaccio ; H. Trinity, Cannes. 1885 : All Saints', Rome. 1889 : St. George's, Venice ; All Saints', Costebelle. 1901 : St. George's, Tunis ; St. John Ev., St. Raphael.

maintenance fund for every church on its erection was not followed.*

As far as is known twenty-one burial grounds were consecrated in the Diocese during Bishop Sandford's Episcopate, and one shortly after his death.†

(3) *Work on behalf of British Seamen*

The Gibraltar Mission to Seamen: character; growth; effect on the Diocese.—In no direction was progress in diocesan effectiveness more apparent during this episcopate than in the care for seamen. Such care had been recognized as belonging to all early chaplaincies, and one main object in the State-aid given to them was to provide it.‡ The large number of seamen requiring ministrations was

* S., 1878, p. 34; 1894, p. 8.

† BURIAL-GROUNDS CONSECRATED BY BISHOP SANDFORD.

1875. Smyrna (S., 1875, p. 9).

1876. Bournabat (S., 1875, p. 9; 1895, p. 7).

1882. Cyprus: Larnaca; Nicosia; Polymedia Camp (S., 1882, p. 22).

1882-3. Jerez (S., 1883, p. 20).

1884. Cathcart's Hill, Sebastopol (S. 1884, pp. 37 ff.).

Hughesovka (S., 1884, p. 42).

1885-6. Bordighera (S., 1886, p. 7).

1886. Varosia, Cyprus (S., 1886, p. 11).

1888. Odessa—by the Archbishop of Odessa (S., 1888, p. 38).

1889. Bilbao (S., 1890, p. 12).

Valencia (S., 1890, p. 18).

1890. Alassio (addition) (S., 1890, p. 27).

1893, May 8. Addition to Naval Cemetery, Bighi, Malta (S., 1893, p. 48; R., p. 135).

May 17. Naples: new cemetery (S., 1893, p. 48; R., pp. 126 ff.).

1894, April 11. Rapallo (S., 1894, p. 18; R., p. 129).

November 29. Marsala, Cemetery and Mausoleum (S., 1895, p. 32; R., p. 133).

1901. Malta, Royal Naval Cemetery (S., 1901, pp. 22 f.).

Gozo, Military Cemetery (S., 1901, pp. 22 f.)

1902. Bournabat (addition), (S., 1902, p. 21).

1903, December 26. Bordighera (addition); by the Archbishop of York (R., pp. 154 ff.).

‡ See *supra*, pp. 29, 110, and S., 1876, p. 23.

the reason why consular aid was continued longer to the chaplaincies at Marseilles, Corfu, Smyrna, Leghorn, Malaga, and Trieste than to others. The repeal of the Consular Advances Act forced the care of Seamen on the attention of Bishop Sandford at the very opening of his episcopate, and he referred briefly to it in his first Pastoral Letter of 1875. Writing of the loss sustained through the withdrawal of the Foreign Office grants to consular chaplains, he adds, "If in any . . . parts of my Diocese there is work to be done amongst seamen, let me remind you that there are two excellent Societies which are always ready to give assistance in such work, the St. Andrew's Waterside Church Mission, and the Missions to Seamen." In the course of the next year the Bishop found that there was indeed much need for such work; and in 1876 he wrote at much greater length of the aims and activities of these two Church societies, of the national importance of the care of our seamen, and the need for it. In the outlook which he then took of the development of such care he emphasized certain points; that (*a*) it must accord with the system of the Church of England, and be an integral part of the duty of the chaplain on the spot; that (*b*) the interest and responsibility must be localized; and that (*c*) the conditions of the seamen, and the peculiar temptations besetting them in foreign ports require something more than visits of the clergy to the ships, invitations to Divine service, ministrations in church, warning and counsel, and that "Homes" or "Institutes" were necessary, in which means of pure recreation, rest, refreshment, and food if required, opportunities of writing and receiving letters and reading newspapers should offer a real counter-attraction to the allurements of drinking, impurity and profligacy. It is remarkable that thus early the Bishop outlined the three principles which have characterized the development of work on behalf of seamen in the Diocese—the principles of vital connection with the Church and chaplains, local management, and the establishment of Institutes. Both the Societies to which he looked were Church of England Societies. Both worked mainly by providing Chaplains, Bible-readers, and pure literature, and both had discovered that though such

provision was necessary, it was not by itself adequate. Consequently the provision of Homes for Seamen had already advanced in England, and even in the Mediterranean a beginning had been made by the opening of a Home at Naples in 1875 through the zeal of Mr. Rolfe, the Consul, and of a Sailors' Club at Marseilles, to the maintenance of which liberal aid was given by the English in Cannes.*

In 1876 the growing recognition of the importance of the subject led to the formation of a Committee of the Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury, the Bishop-Suffragan of Nottingham being chairman, to consider the whole question of work among British seamen. Directly he recovered from his illness of 1877-8, and before he was able to travel, Bishop Sandford proceeded, in co-operation with that Committee, to make inquiries of his clergy as to the following points:—the spiritual needs of British seamen in ports known to them; efforts already made to minister to them spiritually on shipboard while in foreign ports; encouragement given to them to attend Divine Service when on shore; other means adopted or desirable to serve them spiritually when on duty abroad. In these inquiries the limitation to spiritual ministrations is observable, and also the absence of any explicit reference to arousing local interest or support.

For a few years no real advance was perceptible. Grants were made to a few port-chaplaincies from the Gibraltar Diocesan Spiritual Aid Fund with a view to ministrations to seamen, and that Fund increasingly centred its interest upon such chaplaincies. But in spite of this it received little support. In 1881-2 after a most urgent call from the Bishop, the Fund received from the Diocese (apart from the Bishop's own contribution) under £300, and the grants made to Barcelona, Seville, Bilbao, Athens, Patras and Constantinople, the Danubian Ports and Odessa amounted to only £270 in all.

But in 1882 the Bishop, whose travel had now brought the urgency of the case to his heart, issued an appeal which awoke the Diocese. He obtained from the Commercial

* S., 1875, p. 3; 1876, pp. 23 ff.; 1878, p. 40.

Department of the Board of Trade a Table showing the extent of British shipping at sixty ports within the Diocese, from Lisbon and Oporto on the West to Batoum and Novorossisk on the East. This he published in full in his Letter of that year, together with a description of the life in port and the needs of seamen, and called for generous help to meet those needs. In particular, he demanded the establishment of Sailors' Homes and Institutes, as well as the provision of the spiritual ministrations of the clergy. He acknowledged gratefully what was being done in the latter direction by various societies which maintained or assisted in the maintenance of chaplains in the ports; the St. Andrew's Waterside Church Mission, Missions to Seamen, the Colonial and Continental Church Society, and the S.P.G. These expended in all in 1882 no less than £1415, drawn entirely from outside the Diocese, in this way. But it is clear that unless a chaplain at a port had the care of seamen really at heart, and had special gifts and aptitude for ministering to them, it is unreal to call him a chaplain to seamen; while if he be truly such a chaplain, he can do little indeed without an Institute which seamen will frequent, and which is nearer the quays than our churches are. Besides thus appealing to the Diocese, the Bishop turned for help to the mercantile shipping communities at Hull and Liverpool, both of which were especially interested in trade to Mediterranean and Black Sea ports. At first he made no proposal to start a Diocesan Mission and Fund, and contemplated continuing to work through the Diocesan Spiritual Aid Fund.

The response was instantaneous. In Liverpool "the Mersey Mission to Mediterranean Seamen" was formed, and until the Gibraltar Mission to Seamen was well launched, continued to give invaluable assistance. The income of the Spiritual Aid Fund rose at a bound to £1323, and Branches of "The Gibraltar Mission to Seamen" in connexion with it were formed at Cannes, Algiers, and Nice. The provision of Institutes, Homes and Sailors' Rests proceeded apace. In 1880 there were only four Homes for Seamen on the whole of the Continent. But in 1883 there were seven in our Diocese—at Naples, Bilbao (1882), Gibraltar, Malta,

Marseilles, Lisbon, and Constantinople: and thenceforth the Bishop was able in his Letters to announce the opening of others at Odessa (1884), Genoa, Savona, Messina, and Palermo (1884-5), Trieste (1888), Seville and Venice (1889), Piraeus (1891), Barcelona (1892), Algiers (1893), Fiume, Nice, and Cannes (1898). Some of these were at first of an exceedingly modest character, and one or two have since been closed; but the movement thus initiated has gone steadily forward. It has enlisted much generous help from residents in the ports; has given to zealous clergy great opportunities of service; and has been immensely appreciated by vast numbers of seamen, who have found friends in the managers and their wives, and veritable homes in the Institutes.

The Mission rapidly became a Diocesan Mission. The assistance of outside Societies gradually diminished as being less needed, and the maintenance and development of the work was carried on within the Diocese. The St. Andrew's Waterside Church Mission, which spent in 1879-1880 £373 in our ports, spent in 1901-2 £50; the Mission to Seamen gave in grants in 1892-3 £427; in 1901-2 £218; and its last grant was resigned in 1912. The Mersey Mission raised in 1882-3 £411, and had passed away in 1902. The grants made by the C.C.C.S. and the S.P.G. for Seamen's work gradually ceased, and the chaplains are now paid by the G.M.S. for their ministry to seamen. The *Gibraltar Diocesan Spiritual Aid Fund* was reconstructed in 1882, and in 1889 transferred its balance to the *Gibraltar Mission to Seamen in the Mediterranean*, which issued from that year its own Annual Reports. At first the Bishop himself had acted as Secretary and Treasurer for all seamen's work; but in 1885 Canon Sidebotham formally took his place as Diocesan Secretary, an office which he held until his death in 1901,* when he was succeeded by Canon Barnett; and in 1890 Mr. Dudley Smith became Treasurer. As an organ for binding together the work of the Mission and its Institutes, the *Quarterly Paper* was started in 1895, and has achieved

* For a notice of his great services to the G.M.S. see S., 1901, pp. 8 ff.

considerable popularity under the editorship of the Rev. (later Canon) J. T. Christie.

If the routine work of the Mission devolved on the local clergy, managers, committees, and the communities in the ports, which from the first found rather more than half the required funds for the Institutes under the incentive furnished by the actual sight and first-hand knowledge of the needs of British seamen, the task and privilege of supplying the rest of the means required fell on other colonies to whom the Bishop appealed, and more especially on those on the Riviera. Here numerous local "Branches" of the G.M.S. were gradually formed. Interest was sustained by the incessant labours of the Bishop himself, and aid given by both subscriptions and collections. The Bishop asked for one annual collection in every church in the Diocese, but in this met with many disappointments. Many friends organized also working parties and sales. How the appeal touched the hearts of the Riviera communities may be seen from the fact that the total subscribed by them gradually rose, with some fluctuations, until in 1902-3 it amounted to £1315 out of the total subscribed by the Diocese (apart from local subscriptions to particular Institutes) of £1587. Thus, although at the Bishop's death, there was still much indeed to be done, yet he did a great work in thus promoting ministrations to his vast "floating flock," and in creating a bond of common work which has contributed directly more than anything else to diocesan spirit and coherence. In writing of the Bishop's work in knitting together the whole jurisdiction of his See, Dr. Collins singled out (in his letter to the clergy before his consecration*) the agency of the Gibraltar Mission to Seamen as contributing to this, and described the foundation of the G.M.S. as being "an act of spiritual genius." And he based it during his long superintendence of it on the sure foundations of responsible local interest and management, universal diocesan sympathy and support, a capable central committee, a distinct Church character, and a conception of ministration which embraced the body, mind, and spirit of the seaman.

* Mason, *Life of Bishop W. E. Collins*, p. 69.

It may be asked what position this Mission, under the direction of Bishop Sandford and his fellow-workers, assumed to other organizations working for the benefit of seamen, and in particular to Presbyterian and undenominational efforts which were called out about this time. The ministrations of the chaplains were offered freely to all, and the Institutes were open to all seamen. Their managers have always been ready to give all assistance to seamen not belonging to the Church of England who desire the services of their own ministers or priests, and no compulsion has been exercised on any seamen to attend any particular Divine Service. Hence the G.M.S. has always been able to appeal for universal support and co-operation, and has indeed received it both in the port communities and others. But as an integral part of the life and work of a Diocese of the Church, and as everywhere vitally connected with chaplaincies of the Church of England, Bishop Sandford felt that it was impossible for it to assume either an undenominational or merely philanthropic character, and that to share control of its Institutes or agencies with other bodies would compromise its character and invite friction. He therefore stated plainly to his people * that in his judgment Presbyterian and undenominational work for seamen should be carried on in all friendliness with the G.M.S., but independently. Experience has shown the wisdom of his judgment; and the G.M.S. has pursued a policy of abstaining from creating competition. The vastness of the field and of the needs which are still to be met, and the kindly co-operation of all religious bodies in the matter, makes this clear policy perfectly attainable.

(4) *Pastoral care of small scattered Communities*

In another direction the Bishop was much less successful in meeting a great diocesan need. Indeed, his labours did scarcely more than serve to reveal it; and as yet, though somewhat better realized, it is a task to be fulfilled.

Hitherto, our attention had been drawn in the main to British mercantile communities large enough to employ a

* S., 1893, p. 59.

chaplain, and almost exclusively to those in great seaports. But, besides these, there have been from the sixteenth century much smaller mercantile colonies and establishments settled in South Europe from the east to the west, the number of which was ever steadily growing. From the sixteenth century these were chiefly in Spain and the islands of the Levant. In later years they have multiplied in Roumania, South Russia, and the Caucasus. Many of these are far distant from the nearest settled chaplaincy; and in times when travel was difficult, slow, and costly they were for long years without pastoral ministrations of any kind. They have always consisted of a peculiarly fine type of Englishmen and Scotchmen, engineers, accountants, and managers of large commercial enterprises. This class comprised many settled families, whose children often married into native families. Occasionally for a time considerable English labour was engaged in railway construction in the Diocese, as in the building of the S. Sicilian, the Sardinian and the Poti—Tiflis lines.

The travels and *Visitation Notes* of Bishop Harris show how many of these communities he visited, and their spiritual destitution. But these notes appeared in an English periodical which represented the life and happenings of the whole Colonial Church, and it is improbable that any but a handful of people in the Diocese of Gibraltar ever saw them. What result followed in the way of providing any ministrations for such colonists through the agency of the S.P.G. and C.C.C.S. was due to the Bishop's personal call on these Societies rather than to any diocesan appeal. It was left for Bishop Sandford through his Pastoral Letters to put the case before his people.

The spiritual destitution of these colonies arose from various causes. The Church at large, and the Diocese in particular did not know of them. They were unable to afford chaplains themselves. Distance prevented combined action, and there was much indifference. There was a constant fluctuation in numbers; in some cases communities shrank almost to vanishing point from trade causes. This was the case at Cadiz, Puerto S. Maria, and Denia in Spain. These colonies have now practically disappeared. At Linares there

was a colony of 100 in 1871, of 250 in 1890; it has since fallen to under 40. At Syra in the Ægean there was a considerable colony from 1820. From 1829-1883 a C.M.S. missionary served there, and in 1884 they numbered 70. Here Bishop Tomlinson consecrated a little room as a chapel. But the colony gradually migrated to the Piræus; and in 1902, there having been no chaplain for nearly 20 years the "Church" was sold for £100, the interest of which is now used to keep the cemetery in order. At Constanza there was a congregation of 80 in 1896, from which year it gradually dwindled. Causes other than those of trade reduced other colonies: the great cholera epidemic in 1911 broke up that of Spezia, and the earthquake of 1908 that of Messina, both of which had been considerable chaplaincies previously. Regular ministrations were difficult in some places owing to paucity of Anglicans. Thus at Odessa in 1871 Bishop Harris found that the majority of the colony were Presbyterians, with an active and talented pastor whose ministrations satisfied the few Anglicans; and at Linares in 1883 the colony had become so predominantly Wesleyan that the chaplaincy was given up and it was intimated to Bishop Sandford that his presence would not be welcome.* In some cases the withdrawal of the Consular aid practically ended the chaplaincy, as at Patras; in others shrinkage in numbers and poverty combined, as at Turin in 1901.

Meanwhile fresh colonies were being formed, as those which gathered round the dockyards at Cartagena, the Spanish mines, the oil-fields of Roumania and Baku, and industrial centres in South Russia, such as the coal and iron works at Hughesovka.

Bishop Sandford and his predecessor had no one clear policy of meeting the needs of these shrinking and developing scattered colonies. In some cases there were obvious quarters to which application could be made. Thus pressure on the Foreign Office secured a chaplaincy at the Legation (later Embassy) at Madrid in 1868 and again in 1875. Sometimes missionaries of the L.J.S. and C.M.S. were able to minister with some acceptance; but, as Bishop

* S., 1884, p. 5.

Sandford wrote, their peculiar ministerial experience, and the fact that in some cases they were not Englishmen,* somewhat unfitted them to serve English congregations. It was often difficult for them to leave the scene of their labour. Elsewhere the attempt was made to group colonies under a joint chaplaincy, as Bishop Harris and Bishop Sandford both tried to do in the case of Jerez and neighbouring colonies, and of those of the West Black Sea and the Danubian Ports. But none of such attempts succeeded for any length of time. Bishop Sandford's usual course was to appeal to either the S.P.G. or C.C.C.S. as he learnt of a need. But though both Societies made response in several cases, it was short-lived; apparently the cost, the smallness of congregations, and the difficulty of providing really suitable clergy combined to terminate most chaplaincies so opened. An itinerating chaplaincy was tried in the West Black Sea colonies with Constantinople as its base, and this Canon Curtis from 1862-1868 † and later the Rev. C. La Mothe served with considerable success; but after them the work dropped. Bishop Sandford attempted to develop such itinerating chaplaincies in Spain and Russia with Barcelona and Odessa as bases, the former to minister to the colonies on the east coast of Spain, the other those of South Russia and the Caucasus. But experience showed that a community is reluctant to share to any real extent with others a chaplain whom it can maintain by itself, and that what the Bishop proposed in Russia—that besides serving the Colony at Odessa which numbered 300 in 1891, the chaplain should visit 20 others scattered between Kieff, 350 miles north, and Baku, 1628 miles to the east—was altogether impracticable.

The only real solution of the problem appears to be the maintenance of a certain number of itinerating clergy supported in large measure by the Diocese, who shall not merely pay brief "visits," but make regularly at appointed centres a stay long enough to gain personal knowledge of our people, win such trust as will make individual help and influence possible, hold the services of the Church, give instruction to candidates for Confirmation, and stimulate godly

* S.C.P., 1892, p. 8.

† S., 1896, p. 66.

laymen to minister as lay-readers in their own absences, and who shall be so regarded as chaplains within a district rather than of any one community. But though Bishop Sandford caught sight of this, and did indeed (in 1880) appeal to the Diocese to do what Societies could not for want of funds, the overwhelming and attractive cause of the seamen prevented his being able to give to this problem the prominence it demanded. The Spiritual Aid Fund, which was to have met the need according to Bishop Harris' original aim (see p. 90) failed, as we have seen, to do so, and was diverted to the channel of seamen's work; and the spiritual starvation of these communities will continue until the Diocese is stirred into unselfish concern for them, and the Church can rise above regard for small numbers to consider the worth and claims of these scattered sheep, who are indeed an open book on English manners, faith, trade, and homes to those among whom they dwell.

(5) *Care of Women; the Girls' Friendly Society*

One other section of his flock was a most constant object of concern to Bishop Sandford. Very few at home realize how many English women there are in the Diocese of Gibraltar earning an honourable maintenance as nurses, maids, governesses, and teachers of English. Those best known to English people at home are the maids in English villas and families in the Riviera. But representatives of the other classes are found everywhere else, especially in the Peninsula, Greece, Roumania, and, in large numbers, in Russia; and beside these, there have been for long years many students of operatic music and singing at Milan. Those in the Peninsula are generally members of the Roman Catholic Communion; and save in most exceptional cases, no others are likely for long to find congenial homes in Spain. Nurses and resident governesses predominate in Athens; in Russia the majority are ladies who give lessons in English. These ladies are characterized by initiative, self-reliance, womanly dignity, industry and a cheerful patience under circumstances frequently of privation and loneliness; and play everywhere a

great part in the presentation abroad of English womanhood.

It will be readily understood that such women stand greatly in need of protection, guidance, and friendship, and such information as will prevent their entering unprincipled families, placing themselves in positions which may compromise them, contracting marriages not recognized by the law of the land, as well as of the ministrations of their Church and a steady influence which shall help them to maintain the Christian standard of purity and holiness. Bishop Sandford was from the beginning of his episcopate awake to their presence and needs, and in particular to those of Englishwomen in Milan, and wrote of it in his Pastoral of 1876 (p. 32 f.). On January 1, 1875 the Girls' Friendly Society had been started as the outcome of a meeting (in 1874) at Lambeth Palace to consider a scheme due to Mrs. Townsend, and Bishop Sandford at once discerned in the new Society and its noble purpose of linking together women of all ages and ranks for mutual help, sympathy, and prayer, for the promotion of the ideal of purity, and for spiritual and moral influence, under the government and life of the Church of England, an instrument ready to hand for exercising the Church's care of her daughters in South Europe. He brought it before the Diocese in his Letter of 1878, and took every opportunity of urging its worth in all his Pastorals, at Conferences of the Clergy, and in his Church Congress Paper of 1892. He realized that the Society depended largely on the co-operation of the chaplains, and pleaded earnestly in his Pastoral of 1890 that this should be given. Branches were formed in the Diocese from 1878, and the Society was fully organized in it on June 29, 1888, with Mrs. Sandford as President. The Society found an indefatigable leader in Mrs. Sandford, who travelled with her husband from 1886 until her death in 1901, and spoke and worked everywhere for the G.F.S. as the Bishop did for the G.M.S. In his touching acknowledgment of the wide-spread sympathy extended to him at her death, the Bishop dwells at length on her inspiring influence among women and her devotion to the G.F.S. During the short months of labour that remained to him after her death

he gave addresses to the local Branches as he visited the chaplaincies as she had been used to do. In 1901 there were branches at Gibraltar and Malta, Lisbon and Oporto in Portugal, Madrid in Spain, Cannes (1878), Marseilles (1878), Nice (1878), in France, Bordighera, Florence, Genoa (1878), Milan (1890), Rome (1878) and Turin (1890) in Italy, at Palermo in Sicily, at Trieste (1895) in Austro-Hungary, at Constantinople and Smyrna (1898), in Roumania, and at Odessa (1891) in Russia. Besides its regularly formed Branches the Society had in 1901 Members, Associates or Referees in twenty-five towns within the Diocese besides those mentioned above.*

It is almost needless to say, in connection with women's work, that the Bishop appreciated greatly the bond of affectionate intercourse and comfort afforded to invalids by the Society of Watchers and Workers. He brought it before the notice of the Clerical Conference in 1889.

(6) *Attitude towards gambling establishments, in particular to that at Monte Carlo*

It remains to notice another matter, that of gambling establishments on the Riviera, and in particular that at Monte Carlo. These gravely affect the life of our English communities in the centre of the Diocese, and with regard to them Bishop Sandford held the strongest views, and adopted a course of action which he laid before all. It is unnecessary here to describe either the spread of the gambling spirit, the establishments mentioned, or the temptations (which include that to immorality) and unspeakable miseries attendant on them.

* These are—in SPAIN: Barcelona, Bilbao, and Malaga; in FRANCE, Costebelle, Hyères, Mentone, and Nice; in CORSICA: Ajaccio; in ITALY: Alasio, Bologna, Leghorn, Naples, San Remo, and Venice; in AUSTRO-HUNGARY: Fiume; in GREECE: Athens, Corfu; in RUSSIA: Batoum, Hughesovka, Nicolaieff, Rostoff, and Taganrog; in N. AFRICA: Algiers, Tangier, and Tunis. The dates given above are those of the foundation of the branch where known. See in particular S., 1878, p. 42; 1889, p. 10; 1890, p. 27; 1892, p. 21; 1901, pp. 15 ff., 28 ff.; 1902, pp. 23, 26, 31 f.; 1903, p. 36; S.C.P. 1892, p. 4. See also *The Story of the Girls' Friendly Society*, by A. L. Money (1913), pp. 30 ff.

These are too well known to all conversant with South Europe.

Early in 1875 the Bishop addressed a letter on the subject to his chaplains on the Western Riviera. This letter was read in every church. It was read also by the Ministers of the Scotch Presbyterians; and sermons of a like character were preached in concert with it by the French and German Pastors, and in many Roman Catholic Churches with the express approval of the Bishop of Nice. "In fact," writes the Bishop, "all the Christian Churches of the Riviera, from Marseilles to Genoa, condemned with one consentient voice the establishment at Monte Carlo as a curse to the neighbourhood, a scandal to our Christian Religion, and a disgrace to the civilization and culture of the age."

The protest thus made was not that of religion alone. In 1876 the inhabitants of Nice, Cannes, and Mentone addressed a letter to the French Senators and Deputies calling their attention to the injury, both moral and material, which the gambling establishment was causing. They urged that the suppression of public gambling at Baden-Baden, Spa, Hamburg, and Aix-la-Chapelle had increased material prosperity, and that similar suppression at Monte Carlo would have the same effect at Nice; and they declared their intention of working for this end, hoping for the concurrence of those whom they addressed.

Hereupon, in 1876, the Bishop laid the matter before the eyes and conscience of the Diocese, and called for aid in forming a healthy and righteous public opinion on the subject of gambling, and in drawing aside the veil which hides its guilt and deformity.

Between 1880 and 1882 the most strenuous efforts were made to combat the evil. An International Committee was formed in London, the President of which was received by the King of Italy, who expressed his sympathy. The matter was brought before the Italian Parliament, and the Minister for Foreign Affairs offered on the part of Italy to co-operate with other Governments for the suppression of the establishment at Monte Carlo. The President was received also by M. de Freycinet, who approved of the question being

brought before the French Chambers, and in due course the necessary petitions were presented to the French Senate and Chamber of Deputies. Local committees were formed at Nice, Cannes, Mentone, Genoa, and Marseilles, and also in Rome and Berlin, and the cause was taken up by almost 100 newspapers, English and Continental. In 1882 the Bishop addressed a second Letter to his congregations, calling for sustained effort to secure effective action on the part of Public Authority.

All, however, proved fruitless; and in 1889 Bishop Sandford informed the Diocese that the protest had died away, and that the number of those resorting to Monte Carlo was on the increase. It remained for the Church of England to give such wise and faithful guidance to her people as the evil demanded. It is to be borne in mind that beside those frequenting Monte Carlo for the purpose of gambling, there had been for years a certain number of residents and visitors to whom the place had been medically recommended as a health and convalescence resort.

Requests were repeatedly made to the Bishop to establish an ordinary chaplaincy at Monte Carlo, and to join in a project for building a church. He always refused to do this. It seemed to him that to do so would be to give some guarantee to his countrymen of his approval of Monte Carlo as a fit and safe place of residence for them, and that a church and chaplaincy would have the effect of "decoying many to the spot, giving it a false semblance of respectability," setting minds and consciences at rest, and deadening sense of peril. He was perfectly prepared to give a hearty support to a temporary Mission or crusade against the evils of the place, if such a step were taken by the Ecclesiastical Rulers of the National (*i.e.* R.C.) Church. It was, however, clear that such a crusade would be prohibited locally. But in 1888 a church was actually built at Monte Carlo without his sanction, and services held. The Bishop was not asked to consecrate it. He found himself, as he told the Clerical Conference at Cannes in 1889 (at which twenty-nine chaplains were present, and the matter came under discussion), and later the whole Diocese, faced by a choice of two evils. If

he recognized the chaplaincy it would be regarded as his withdrawal of the one standing protest which he was able to make, and had made for so long; if he did not, he would appear indifferent to the spiritual welfare of the English there. He held that the decision rested with himself alone, and at the moment reserved his judgment. From the fact that in the Diocesan List of his Pastoral of 1893 the chaplaincy at Monaco finds a place, and the patronage is stated to belong to S.P.G. it is to be assumed that he recognized it and licensed the chaplain. It is believed that he never in person visited Monte Carlo.

Whatever view be taken of his action as to the chaplaincy, none can doubt the wisdom and courage of his long and open protest against the scourge of this lovely and popular region, and against the silence and timidity as to it which prevails.* The scourge is not, alas, limited to the Riviera; and it is to be hoped that the English chaplaincies everywhere may by wise witness and work warn our people of the spiritual and temporal peril, and the social cruelty and wrong of a practice which wrecks a thousand homes and lives for one which it may appear for a moment to benefit, and may save, and, if need be, deliver them from it.

It is impossible to do more than touch briefly on certain other points of interest in the life of the Diocese during this period and the work of the Bishop. Some there are of real and still present importance.

(7) *Shrinkage of Missionary Work in the Diocese*

One of these was the slow shrinkage of the missionary work of the Church within the Diocese. It will be remembered that a mission to Mohammedans was an integral part of the purpose of the Crimean Memorial Church at

* S. 1876, pp. 15 ff. 1889, pp. 6 ff. "Monaco: *A Pastoral Letter to the Clergy and Congregations of British Churches along the Western Riviera*. 1876." "Monte Carlo: *A Letter to the Congregations of British Churches along the Western Riviera*. 1882." "*The Sin of Gambling*," a Sermon preached in Christ Church, Cannes. 1892. *Words of Counsel to English Churchmen Abroad*, pp. 150 ff.

Constantinople. After the troubles of 1864 the missionary element in the character of that church fell rapidly out of sight, and in 1880 the congregation were informed that they must be prepared to take on themselves some considerable portion of the maintenance of the chaplain whose work had long ceased to be of a directly missionary character, and who had come, in fact, to be the parish priest of the English in the city who did not avail themselves of the ministrations of the Embassy chaplain. The Church Missionary Society, whose presence at Constantinople, Smyrna, and Syra was a witness among us to the Church's duty to Islam, withdrew its missionaries in 1880 from the last two stations,* and from that time all direct mission work of our Church to Moham-medans ceased in the Diocese. Of our failure to enter on the field in North Africa we have spoken already (p. 88). To the devoted work of missionaries to the Jews of the L.J.S., Bishop Sandford often refers. But save for the interest of a few personal friends of missionaries at the stations of the Society, there has been no sense in the Diocese of our debt to our Lord's people. The Bishop tried to kindle zeal for S.P.G., pressing for the observance of the annual Day of Intercession, and noting thankfully how it was kept at Linares in 1875,† and also for the celebration of the Bicentenary of 1901. But it is to be confessed that mission work among the Jews and the heathen became conspicuously absent from the concern of the Diocese—an absence surely to be made good hereafter, for without it no Christian Diocese can live its true life in the Church.

(8) *Attendance of Anglicans at Roman Catholic Services*

Another was the fact that so many English, and especially Anglican clergy, visiting South Europe, instead of availing themselves to the utmost of the ministrations of their own Church on Sunday, and giving support to the Diocese, its churches, congregation and clergy in this way with all their might, attended the services of the Roman Church, perhaps after being present at the Eucharist of their own Church,

* S., 1881, p. 4.

† S., 1876, p. 35.

and sometimes (in the case of clergy) after assisting the chaplain in it. This caused constant distress to the Bishop, and difficulty to the Chaplains. The Bishop readily acknowledged that it was desirable that Englishmen should gain information and learn by personal observation what the ritual and teaching of the Roman Church actually is, especially in Spain. But he felt that the practice of attending Roman services in a place where there is an English Church and licensed ministrations was indefensible. He believed that it discouraged our clergy, and scandalized the laity; that it compromised the dignity, the honour, and the claims of our Church; that to Roman Catholics it appeared an act of inconsistency and disloyalty, and seemed to imply misgiving as to the right of our Church to minister to her own children in lands in which the local Church refuses to acknowledge them, or communicate them, or even to accord them Christian burial. The Bishop did not believe that such action tended to reunion or to the lessening of the estrangement between the two great Communions; and he expected it to lead to the imitation in England of ceremonial, gestures, and even doctrine alien to the character and restraint of the Church of England, and likely to offend and irritate a sober-minded Anglican. It is to be remembered in this that the Bishop's extraordinarily long and varied experience of all affecting the religious life of Englishmen on the continent gave him especial claim to be heard; few indeed of those who may criticize him could speak from his knowledge of the practice and its consequences. The present writer ventures to take the opportunity of endorsing the worth and the warning of his words. He has known and felt the effects produced on both chaplains and laity of which Bishop Sandford wrote and preached in his Diocese, and spoke openly in England.* Much more thoughtfulness in the matter, and more openly confessed loyalty to the Church of their baptism, is due on the part of visitors and travellers.

* See S., 1876, p. 14; 1894, pp. 22, 36, 38. S.C.P., 1892, p. 10. *Words of Counsel to English Churchmen Abroad*, Sermons iv. and xxiii.

(9) *The Diocese and Church Societies*

A third was the outcome of the activity of Societies in the Diocese. No reader of these pages can have failed to recognize the indebtedness of the life of our Church in South Europe to such Societies as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Colonial and Continental Church Society, the London Jews' Society, the Missions to Seamen, the St. Andrew's Waterside Church Mission, The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the Church Missionary Society. It is indeed difficult to imagine how that life could have been fostered in the earlier days without their work, and the Bishop was always ready to appeal to them, and gratefully to acknowledge aid received. At the same time he discerned in some cases that trouble must arise if Societies directed by committees in England attempted to claim or exercise a control over churches, congregations, or chaplains in return for service rendered, or if they gave their assistance in a way calculated to impair the right relation in which clergy and congregations stand to their Diocesan, or to fetter their due and rightful liberty and responsible independence. He feared that the action of Societies might reproduce in his Diocese, in the face of the Roman Catholic Church, that party spirit which is so deplorable a blot on Church life in England. The danger had been foreseen long before, and had been voiced as early as 1869 in the *Colonial Church Chronicle* by a writer who had much at heart the independence of the growing colonial Episcopate.*

At the beginning of his occupation of the See, Bishop Sandford wrote with the utmost plainness of the action of one Society's clergy as compromising the position of the Church of England; and early and late in his episcopate he found it necessary to remind his clergy that they ministered as representing the Church of England, and not Societies, Patrons, Trustees, or individuals. He constantly called on them to avoid all hurtful contrasts as to ceremonial and use between neighbouring English churches, and to use their endeavours to banish party-spirit. He felt that that spirit

* *The Episcopate and the Societies*, C.C.C., 1869, pp. 369 ff.; 481 ff.

destroyed the restfulness which many English people sought in their sojourn abroad, and that the services should be such that all reasonable Churchmen should be able to enjoy them without irritation. Lastly he urged that the idea should not be given to observant and unfriendly foreign critics that the Church of England was a divided house. It is much to be regretted that there was not from the first a Diocesan Office in England through which the Bishop could have engaged his own clergy as need arose, attaching them firmly to himself as Diocesan, and so securing a liberal uniformity and creating in all chaplains and chaplaincies a strong diocesan spirit rather than that which is inseparable from a chaplaincy attached to a Society however admirable.*

* See S., 1878, p. 35 ; 1881, p. 7 ; 1902, pp. 15, 17 ; *Ch. Q.R.*, January, 1878, p. 369 ff.

CHAPTER X

THE EPISCOPATE OF BISHOP SANDFORD (*continued*)

THE RELATIONS OF THE DIOCESE AND BISHOP OF GIBRALTAR WITH OTHER COMMUNIONS; THE ATTITUDE ADOPTED TOWARDS PROSELYTISM AND MOVEMENTS OF RELIGIOUS REFORM IN ITALY AND THE PENINSULA

(1) *Relations with the Orthodox Churches of the East*

IT will be remembered that one of the main objects in the establishment of the Bishopric of Gibraltar was the advancement of a better understanding and of friendly relations with the ancient Churches of the East. To no Bishop could such a charge have been more congenial than to Bishop Sandford; and few so fitted for it by knowledge, temperament, and Catholic mind have had the opportunities which his long episcopate afforded him of fulfilling it. This aim of his bishopric was ever with him, and he sought incessantly to discharge it. Both to Church people in England and to his own Diocese he endeavoured to give the benefit of the knowledge of these Churches which he amassed during thirty years; and if the Diocese of Gibraltar has now a definite idea of the attitude of the Church of England towards these Churches, it is due beyond all else to his long and patient teaching. Gifted with an exceedingly clear mind, and powers of direct and simple exposition, and himself inflexibly loyal to the Church of England as Catholic and Reformed, he was unusually qualified both to do justice to these Churches, and also to grasp the difficulties to be overcome before the goal of reunion with them is within reach, and which minds less widely informed and less well balanced frequently ignore. It is an irreparable loss that he never attempted a treatise on the Churches of the East, and the conditions of reunion with



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them ; and it is impossible in the space here available to do justice to the teaching and counsel he gave his Diocese in the series of his Pastoral Letters. It was on this subject and on the care of British seamen that he appears to have most consciously focussed his attention and efforts as Bishop. Bishop J. Wordsworth acknowledged with gratitude his "quiet, steady, unselfish work"; and names him particularly as one to whom our Church owes very much in her relations with the Eastern Patriarchates.*

How laboriously he sought to learn of the ancient Churches of the East, and to advance understanding with them may be realized from the fact that he never lost an opportunity of intercourse with their heads, of explaining the character of the Church of England, and rendering and welcoming acts of courteous recognition. He records no fewer than forty-five interviews: with the Œcumenical Patriarch, six; the Armenian Patriarch, five; the Patriarch of Jerusalem; the Metropolitans of the Coptic, Cypriote, Roumanian, and Servian Churches; the Armenian Archbishop at Constantinople; the Archbishops of Athens, Corfu, Kherson, Patras, and Smyrna; the Bishop of Bucarest; the Syrian Bishop at Jerusalem; the Archimandrite at Tunis; and the Bulgarian Exarch. These interviews were no mere exchange of verbal courtesies. In that with the Œcumenical Patriarch in 1897, for example, he discussed the political aspect of the Bulgarian separation, the Old Catholic movement, and the education and the function of the clergy. From words that fell from the Patriarch's lips the Bishop gathered that even he supposed, or pretended to suppose, that the Church of England was called into existence at the time of the Reformation, and was the recognized head of all Protestant sects scattered over Christendom. The Bishop strove, with some doubts of his success, to assure His Holiness that the Church of England was reformed, not born, at the Reformation, and that she could count almost as many grey hairs as her venerable and orthodox Sister of Constantinople; that "Anglican" was not a term convertible with

* Lecture on *The Church of England and the Eastern Patriarchates* (1898), p. 3.

"Protestant," and that the Church of England made no claim to headship of all "Protestant" congregations. He discussed further with the Patriarch the sanction of mutual ministrations, which he regarded rather of necessity than of charity, while Bishop Sandford maintained that he himself had rendered them "altogether for charity's sake, and in no wise of necessity."* The Bishop records the extreme caution and wariness with which His Holiness spoke throughout. It will be clear that such interviews, many of which the Bishop describes as fully as that referred to above, could not but be most fruitful.† The invariable subject at such conversations was that of unity; and the Bishop relates on several occasions the satisfaction expressed at the fact that the Church of England set her face against proselytising, and retained primitive Order and the threefold Ministry. It was due to these frequent interviews with the heads of so many Churches that the Bishop was able to grasp the national side of the Eastern Churches, their differences in many matters of ritual, doctrine, and discipline; the fact that reunion demands something much more than revision of formularies and assimilation of ceremonial, and that it cannot involve on the part of any national Church a surrender of its freedom or of its individuality.‡

The open intercourse between the two Churches was seen by all in such incidents as the following. When the Consul-General at Patras died in 1874, the local Greek ecclesiastics were present at the funeral. When the venerable C.M.S. missionary at Syra, the Rev. F. Hildner, died in 1883, the Greek Archbishop not only lent his Cathedral for the funeral, but attended it himself, gave an address, and the blessing. In 1875, at the consecration of the English cemetery at Smyrna, the Archbishop gave an address on unity. The Archbishop of Cyprus attended the consecration of St. Paul's, Nicosia, in 1886; the Greek Archbishop and Armenian ecclesiastics the

* S., 1880, pp. 27, 53 ff. (speech at the Church Congress, Sept. 28, 1880).

† See especially those with the Armenian Patriarch Nerses, described S., 1880, pp. 35 ff.; and the Bulgarian Exarch, S., 1880, pp. 30 ff.

‡ S., 1902, pp. 33 ff.

laying of the foundation stone of St. John's, Smyrna, in 1898, and the consecration of the church four years later; and the Archbishop of Calcedon attended the consecration of All Saints', Kadikeui, in 1902, when he invited Bishop Sandford to a similar service of his own Church. The Bishop refers more than once to the promise of the Archbishop of Patras to baptize, bury, and communicate at death, our people, and to the fulfilment of the promise.*

The following extract from his Pastoral of 1899 embodies the mature experience thus placed before the Diocese:—

“There are members of our Church who regard the efforts which I and others have been making during recent years to promote friendly feelings, and to produce a better understanding between ourselves and our brethren of the Orthodox Communion with distrust and alarm. They are afraid apparently that such efforts may betray our Church into a compromise of principle and truth. All such fears I believe to be groundless. Though I am anxious that our Church should win the respect and affection of our brethren in the East, I am not blind to the differences which separate us, and I should never think of proposing that these differences, or any one of them, should be removed by compromise. It is impossible to attend the religious services of our Eastern brethren, or to read their published offices of devotion without seeing that the differences between them and us are many and great. They differ from us in their modes of thought and expression. They differ from us in the multiplicity and length of their offices. Their daily services are marked by an excessive variety of detail; nearly every day has its special saint. The time required of the parish priests to master the numerous office books is said to be so large that little or none is left for other studies. They differ from us in their numerous festivals and their many and rigorous fasts. They differ from us in their manner of administering baptism, and in the time and manner of administering

* S., 1880, p. 27; 1895, p. 21; 1899, pp. 33, 37; 1902, p. 19.

confirmation. A distinguishing characteristic of our worship is its dignified simplicity. Their worship, on the other hand, is very elaborate, complicated, and laden with symbolism. But our Eastern brethren differ from us in other and more important matters. Apart from the disputed clause inserted by the Latin Church in the Creed of Constantinople, regarding the procession of the Holy Spirit, which was the principal cause of the rupture between Eastern and Western Christendom, it needs only a slight acquaintance with their authorised offices of public worship, or with their manuals of private devotion, to perceive that their teaching differs from the teaching of our own Book of Common Prayer on not a few matters of the gravest moment, such as the nature of the Eucharistic Presence, the cultus of the Blessed Virgin, the invocation and intercession of Saints, the reverence paid to Icons. These differences were noticed in the Report of the Committee appointed to consider the relation of the Anglican Communion to the Eastern Churches, at the Conference of Anglican Bishops held at Lambeth in 1888.

“But if there is much in which the two Communion differ, we remember with thankfulness that there is much more in which we agree. We agree in requiring that all doctrines should be brought to the test of the Holy Scriptures; in assigning to the Holy Scriptures an authority above the writings of the Fathers and above the traditions of the Church. Both Communion have the same Apostolic Orders. Both have a married parochial clergy. Both recognize the principle of national, independent, self-governed Churches. Both reject Papal pretensions to supremacy. Like the Church of England, the Orthodox Church is neither exclusive nor aggressive. It makes no claim to be the whole Church of Christ; and infallibility it neither claims for itself, nor concedes to others. Like ourselves it rejects the Roman doctrines of Purgatory, and of the Immaculate Conception, and

other Roman dogmas, which not only go beyond, but, as we both maintain, contradict the plain teaching of Holy Scripture. Moreover, our Rulers are desirous that friendly relations should be established between the two Churches. Whenever we pay them official visits they receive us with courtesy and friendly regard, and treat us as brethren.

“But in existent circumstances projects of union are utopian. In the interests of truth we cannot alter our teaching on such vital questions as those which I have just named. Neither can we alter our distinctive usages of worship. The multiplicity, length, and elaborate nature of their offices would be wearisome and distasteful to a congregation of Englishmen. And if we cannot change, still less can we expect any change on the part of our Oriental brethren, who are inflexibly conservative, and rigid in their adherence to old types and paths. But while our differences are too many and too great for union, there need be no antagonism between the two Churches, there need be no aggression or encroachment on the part of either. No ; there may, and there ought to be, mutual appreciation and respect, mutual acknowledgment of each other's independent position, province, and work ; there may, and ought to be mutual sympathy ; there may, and ought to be co-operation in many things, and especially in enterprises literary and educational. We can, and ought, to bring the two Churches to a fuller knowledge of each other, by social and official intercourse, by friendly discussion, correspondence, and by publications giving information in regard to each other's history, orders, teaching and worship. Then there might be a general agreement, such as already exists here and there in Greece, that we should visit each other's sick, and administer to them the privileges and consolations of religion, in case either of us should have no pastor of our own at hand, and to bury each other's dead. Mutual recognition such as this has been my thought

and aim in the intercourse which from time to time during the last quarter of a century I have had the privilege and pleasure of holding with my brethren in the East ; and in prosecuting this aim I have considered myself to be fulfilling one of the special purposes for which the Bishopric of Gibraltar was established, as set forth in the Lambeth Declaration of 1841."

The Bishop never disguised his conviction that there were two necessary preliminaries to Reunion : Reform within the Eastern Churches and improved education of the clergy and other members, with more general diffusion of knowledge. Of these he spoke frequently and plainly ; and it was a constant satisfaction to him that the need of both reform and education were acknowledged by representatives of those Churches. But he urged that the advice of the Lambeth Conference of 1888 should be strictly followed : that the Church of England should direct her counsels and efforts to the encouragement of *internal* reformation in the Eastern Churches, not to the drawing of individuals away from their own communion, and that when men were found craving fuller light and stronger spiritual life they should be advised to remain in the Church of their baptism, and so to become centres of enlightenment to their own people. He thus pressed for a great patience : "the mists of ages are not to be scattered in a day. Progress is slow in the East. An intense conservatism retains the usages of olden time with tenacious, reverential and loving grasp." The ideal he ever set before his Diocese was that of an intercommunion of national Churches, all independent and self-governed, all free to retain their distinctive forms and usages, the conditions of inter-communion being those of the Lambeth Quadrilateral of 1888.* It will be felt at once that such a view of the Eastern Churches involved a firm opposition to proselytism, as will appear later.

* See, *e.g.*, S., 1880, pp. 58, 63 ; 1888, pp. 16 ff. Lambeth Conference, 1888, Resolutions 11 and 17. As an example of Eastern rigidity and conservatism the Bishop refers in 1895 (S., 1895, pp. 18 f.) to the disappointment of the high hopes excited by the Bonn Conference of 1875, to which he had given ardent expression (S., 1875, p. 11).

Relations with the Roman Catholic Church.—

Here the Bishop and his Diocese had to face an entirely different spirit from that of the Eastern Churches—a spirit not only of coldness, but even of hostility. The present writer has failed to discover in the whole series of Pastorals from 1875–1903 a reference to a single interview with a Roman ecclesiastic; and it is impossible to imagine Bishop Sandford as slow to seize an opportunity for such conference had it been ever open to him. He contrasted the position assumed by the Greek Church with that of the Roman which “not only arrogantly rejects our communion, but, by the system of proselytising which it adopts, sows seeds of discord and schism in our congregations, and in our households.”* The Papal Letter of Leo XIII. of June, 1896, led him to set before his people, in his Pastoral of that year, the significance, the character and the worth of that Letter. He realized that it closed the door for the present to all hope of reunion with the Roman Church. He believed that the Roman Pontiff failed to understand that the English Church was as resolutely determined in the present day as three centuries ago “to stand fast in the liberty with which Christ hath made us free,” and that his Letter dispelled the ideas of some members of our Church in regard to the intentions of Rome. He writes:—

“It seems to have been supposed by some persons that if only they could lessen by their teaching and ritual the distance between ourselves and that Church, she in return would grant such relaxation of discipline and dogma as would render proposals of reunion palatable to the English people. It is strange that any one acquainted with the history and character of the Roman Church could have imagined this possible. Until Rome renounces her pretensions to infallibility, she cannot retrace her steps, she cannot make concessions, she cannot condescend to compromise. The adoption of such a course would be to make confession of error, to stultify herself, to cut the ground from under her own feet. Those sanguine spirits who

* S., 1880, p. 63; 1894, p. 34.

thought that she might be induced by the prospect of recovering the English Church and people to her fold, to modify the inflexibility of her attitude, have now learnt that they have been feeding on false hopes. They have been plainly and authoritatively told that in this world of growth, progress, and change Rome remains unchanged. She speaks with her ancient voice. Though the voice is softened to suit a softer age, yet the spirit and the substance of her words are as narrow, haughty, self-asserting and intolerant as ever. She abates no jot or tittle of her old pretensions. So far from modifying them, she claims more than was conceded to her in the darkest, most uncritical, most submissive ages. Only on the condition of complete and unquestioning acceptance not only of the primacy, but of the absolute supremacy of the Roman Pontiff, will she receive churches or individuals into union. Apart from absorption reunion is shown to be impossible.

"It must not be supposed that we repudiate the claims of Rome, simply because we will not part with our independence. We have other and stronger reasons. We repudiate them because we are dissatisfied with Rome's title-deeds."

After a protracted discussion of those title-deeds the Bishop declared to the Diocese that one clear path of duty is to hold to our distinctive views of revealed truth, and he laid before his flock the antiquity and the worth of the independence of our Church.

A few months later appeared the Papal Bull on Anglican orders which pronounced them "absolutely null and utterly void." The Bishop at once, even before the English Archbishops issued their Answer, dealt with it and the grounds for its decision, in which the Pope "in overthrowing our Orders, overthrows all his own, and pronounces sentence on his own Church." * He declared to his Diocese that

* *Answer of the Archbishops of England to the Apostolic Letter of Pope Leo XIII. on English Ordinations, 1897.*

"Though the Bull is nominally a decision against the validity of Anglican orders, it really is a decision in their favour, inasmuch as the only grounds on which they are challenged are seen to be untenable; that as the historical position of the Anglican Church has been left unassailed that position is unassailable. At one with the primitive Church by succession of apostolic doctrine we are also at one by succession of apostolic order." *

It is unnecessary to add more evidence of the attitude of independence which the Bishop, and with him his Diocese as a Diocese of the Church of England, thus assumed towards the Church of Rome. It is indeed a matter for thankfulness that in 1896 the See was occupied by one so qualified, so experienced, and so prompt to give his guidance. It is important that his position and whole attitude should be recognized, because it makes more striking his standing with regard to proselytism and to movements of reform in the West, and more particularly to that in the Peninsula, which during his episcopate reached a point which called for gravest attention and his plainest direction to the Diocese.

(2) *Attitude towards Proselytism, and towards Movements of Reform in Italy and the Peninsula. The Spanish Reformed Church*

It was of unspeakable advantage to the Church of England and the Diocese of Gibraltar that the Bishopric was held so long, and at such a time, by one who saw and maintained so unswervingly a clear line of action in regard to these most difficult matters, and who so fully instructed his people in it. If his predecessors had followed the same line, as was indeed the fact, though Bishop Harris did so with occasional perplexity and apparently even misgiving, none of them committed himself to it so whole-heartedly, unreservedly and openly as Bishop Sandford, or laid it down as the policy of the Diocese with the same persistent reiteration

* S., 1896, pp. 1-56.

and reasoned vindication, both in the Diocese and in England in terms which none could mistake.

From the opening to the end of his episcopate he set his face against proselytism, direct or indirect, in all forms. To detach members of the Greek and Roman Churches from the Churches of their baptism he held to be inconsistent with the principles of the Church of England ever since the Reformation; to be a mistaken policy; to be a direct hindrance to internal reform; to be an act of intrusion and schism; to be a violation and outrage of the courtesy increasingly accorded to the Church of England; the creation of fresh wounds in Christendom instead of healing the old. This he declares in his Pastoral Letters from first to last.

In the East this position was warmly welcomed, and ever more and more realized and appreciated. The Eastern Churches do not countenance proselytism. The Bishop discerned how strong a bond between the Anglican and Eastern Churches this identity of principle forges when in 1880 at Constantinople he had access to documents revealing the inner life of the Eastern Churches and found them writhing under schism promoted by the aggressive proselytism of Rome in the Churches of the Chaldean Christians at Mosul, of the Syrian Jacobites, of the Gregorian Armenians, of the Catholic Armenians, of the Bulgarians in the province of Saloniki, of the Greek or Orthodox Christians of Bosnia and Herzegovina. He found the Vatican intriguing secretly at Embassies, directly by Missions, and even with the Turkish Government, which was only too glad to abet it in its policy of disintegrating and then absorbing these ancient and hitherto independent communities, and anxious to relieve itself of embarrassment by the suppression of these free and troublesome Churches.* What difficulty the Bishop had in the East did not lie in inducing members of the Church of England to follow his lead; for, though there may have been rare sporadic cases of proselytizing by Anglicans in the past, they had never received authoritative approval, and were altogether too few to make any deep impression; and there never has been any body of Anglicans who

* S., 1880, p. 55 (speech at Church Congress, Sept. 28, 1880).

seriously favoured or attempted proselytism in the eastern portion of the Diocese. But it lay rather in dissociating in the eyes of the Churches of the East the Anglican Church from the action of "Protestant" bodies, and in particular of American Missionaries, who together with self-denying efforts to promote education, relieve distress, and advance freedom and civilization, followed a policy which "left their proselytes in the cold, forlorn, isolated position of Christians without a Church."* In this he practically succeeded, and received frequently the thanks of the leading Orthodox Ecclesiastics; and it is noteworthy that at Athens, where the Greek Metropolitan had expressly recognized the non-proselytizing policy of the Anglican Church in 1890, during the riots caused by suspicion of proselytism in 1892, the English chaplain was unmolested in his work. It is to be recorded that the absence of proselytism in Dr. Hill's famous school in this city secured it esteem and popularity with the people, and Bishop Sandford's hearty commendation.†

In the central and western portions of the Diocese, the case was materially different, and the perplexity of the problem far greater. Both in Italy and in the Peninsula, in Spain and Portugal alike, the agencies working to promote reformation were many; they enlisted the sympathy and co-operation of a considerable body of deeply religious English people, who were keenly alive to the need of reform, and the concrete abuses in the Roman Church which were ever before their own eyes, but who yet lacked both the sense of catholicity and order, and the wide outlook and estimate of consequences required for a sober and balanced judgment. These were supported by a section of church-people in England, who were ready to adopt Roman methods against Rome, and to back up that policy by financial aid. Such sympathy and co-operation was not limited to the laity. The Bishop, who felt strongly the great importance of the licensed clergy of the Diocese as being both representative and interpretative of the Church of England and not of

* S., 1880, p. 54.

† S., 1895, p. 25; 1890, p. 33; 1892, p. 25; 1880, p. 42; 1882, p. 23.

Trustees, Societies, patrons, or parties, and held that the granting his licence laid on the Bishop in some measure responsibility for their ministrations as clergy, found it necessary in 1878 to refer to the active part taken by licensed clergy, disavowing it on behalf of the Church of England and himself as not covered by the terms of the licence granted to them ; and did so again in 1890 with particular reference to Sicily and Portugal.* In the reforming agencies referred to the liberty of worship allowed was abused, and degenerating into licence ; the established religion and Church were frequently insulted, and distrust of the Roman priesthood tended to take the form of venomous and aggressive atheism. The movements of reform were not co-ordinated, and very diverse in character. In Italy, beside the recognized Waldensian Church, there were six bodies calling themselves "Reformed Churches"—the Wesleyans ; the Apostolical Baptist Christian Union, the Church of the Brothers, the Episcopal Methodist Church, and the Catholic National Church of Italy, all having preachers of their own, and separate places of worship.†

No one felt more deeply than Bishop Sandford himself the need of reform within the Roman Communion. To him, in 1880, the very position of Christianity in South Europe seemed critical. He saw Vaticanism retaining its hold on the ignorant and credulous, while the manly and thoughtful were falling away into scepticism, and the masses drifting into indifferentism.‡ He was fully awake to the errors of faith and practice in the Roman Church, and to the fact that the claim to infallibility blocked the way to internal reform on the part of that Church herself. The objects and character of the Anglo-Continental Society greatly appealed to him, as calculated to advance some measure of internal reform without anything which savoured of proselytism and intrusion, and he commended it warmly to the attention of the Diocese.§ Thus, especially in the earlier years of his

* S., 1878, pp. 20, 21, 24 ; 1890, p. 9 ; 1895, pp. 25 f. ; 1902, p. 15.

† S., 1897, p. 33.

‡ S., 1880, p. 164 ; and Church Congress, Sept. 29, 1880.

§ S., 1875, p. 13.

episcopate, he was disposed to stretch his sympathy to the utmost, so far as he could do so in the case of isolated congregations appealing for assistance consistently with loyalty to the catholic principles of the Church of England.

But he saw no substantial ground for hope save in the revival of national and independent Churches, scriptural in their doctrine, apostolic and primitive in their discipline and forms of worship;* and with him the real question was, How are such churches to be revived? Nothing exotic would meet the need; and what was exotic would but add to disturbance and unsettlement. He was unable to see in Italy any evidence of a general and progressive national movement; such movement as there was appeared to be a protest against the discipline and politics rather than against the doctrine of Rome.† At one time he hoped that the Old Catholics would form a body round which reviving national churches would gather, and with which the Church of England could establish communion. But by 1888 the small progress they made, the little hold they had on national heart and life, and the uncertainty regarding the doctrinal position which they would ultimately take, together with the conflicting views entertained of that movement by English Churchmen made him pause, and he believed that the Lambeth Conference had acted wisely in deciding that the time was not yet come for any direct alliance with the Old Catholics, and that a continuance of friendly sympathy, intercourse, and counsel, with the offer of admission to our services when they had none of their own would meet present demands. He therefore came to the determination to confine himself exclusively to his appointed work of ministering to members of his own Communion, and not to interfere with the Churches of the countries in which he laboured; and to this course he resolutely adhered, defending it both in the Diocese and in England, and claiming that in this he was in agreement with the spirit of the Church of England as expressed in the Resolutions of the Lambeth Conference.‡

* S., 1880, p. 64.

† S., 1888, p. 22.

‡ S., 1888, pp. 20, 21; S.C.P., 1885 (*The Attitude of the Church of*

In Spain and Portugal the course of the reforming movement proved the cause of the gravest concern to the Bishop ; and not only for the guidance of the Diocese as a whole, but in a special degree for that of the numerous English colonies in the Peninsula, the largest and most influential of which are at Oporto and Lisbon, he was obliged to treat the matter with great frequency, fullness and plainness. In his Pastoral Letters of 1878, 1880, 1888, and 1894 he brought out for his own people the critical points of the movement, and assumed a definite position, a step which Bishop Harris had foreseen in 1870 would be forced upon the Diocese (see *supra*, p. 86). At the Church Congresses of 1880 and 1885 he laid before the home Church a firm and fearless statement of that position which nothing that transpired subsequently induced him to modify or abandon.

On succeeding to the See Bishop Sandford found that the movement had developed beyond the stage described by his predecessor. A considerable body of priests and laymen, despairing of an internal reformation, had, in 1868, formed themselves into an independent society which they entitled the "Spanish and Portuguese Reformed Episcopal Church"—episcopal at the time only in principle and aspiration. They had seen the evils of Congregationalism, and sought reform on a primitive and episcopal model. They were under the direction of an English Society, the "Spanish and Portuguese Church Missions." In 1878 they consisted of nine congregations, with four ordained ministers, formerly priests of the Roman Catholic Church.

This body more than once requested Bishop Sandford to take it under his charge. In spite of great sympathy, he was unable to do so. He was conscious that he had neither the indispensable acquaintance with the Spanish and Portuguese character and language, nor the time at command which would be required to make himself master of all the circumstances. But more especially he felt that to do so would be to exceed the terms of his commission, which was strictly limited to "British Churches, Congregations, and

England with respect to movements in Foreign Churches) ; Lambeth Conference, 1888, Res. 15, esp. (D₁) ; 1897, Res. 28, 29, and esp. 32.

Clergy of the Church of England." Consequently, in the spring of 1878 these congregations and their priests addressed a memorial to the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of England, praying them to consecrate a Bishop to preside over them, chosen, if possible, from the ranks of the English clergy, acquainted with the character of the people of the Peninsula, and able to speak both Spanish and Portuguese. The English Bishops, realizing the gravity of the request, submitted it to the Conference of Anglican Bishops sitting at Lambeth, and it was referred by them to a Committee which considered with it the proposed extension of the Episcopate to Mexico by the American Church. This Committee in their Report expressed a hearty sympathy with the Memorialists in the difficulties of their position, but did not go beyond suggesting that the Bishop to be consecrated by the American Church for Mexico should visit the Peninsula, and "render such assistance at this stage of the movement as may seem to him practicable and advisable." *

Bishop Sandford viewed the situation with growing apprehension. The whole matter was in his eyes grave and solemn, and called for extreme caution. Some urged that the Church of England should accede to the request, sheltering themselves behind the words of St. Cyprian, who affirmed that "there is but one Episcopate, held in common by all Bishops, and possessed in full by every individual Bishop," † and pressed

* *The Lambeth Conferences of 1867, 1878, 1888*, p. 179; *Report of the Committee on the Position of Anglican Chaplains and Chaplaincies on the Continent of Europe and elsewhere*.

† *Episcopatus unus est cuius a singulis in solidum pars tenetur*. Cypr., *De Unitate*, c. 5. Whereon Archbishop Benson: the "tangible bond of the Church's unity is her one united episcopate, an Apostleship universal yet only one—the authority of every bishop perfect in itself, yet not forming with all the others a mere agglomeration of powers, but being a tenure upon a totality, like that of a shareholder in some joint property" (*Cyprian; his Life, his Times, his Work*, p. 182, ed. 1897).

This famous maxim is treated by Bishop J. Wordsworth in *The Ministry of Grace*, pp. 133, 173 ff. He renders it "The Episcopate is one, and all Bishops are full partners in it, with joint and several responsibility." He regards it as bearing on the rights of a Bishop in other communities than his own; as a necessary condition of unity; as reminding each Bishop of his relation to the whole body, stimulating

these famous words to mean that every individual Bishop has extra-diocesan, extra-provincial powers—that every individual Bishop is a universal Bishop, free and even in duty bound to exercise his powers in every corner of the world, if the welfare of souls demanded it. The Bishop freely acknowledged that Christian Bishops in early days had acted on this principle, when necessity compelled. But he urged as of equal authority and of very different purport the other principle or canon, that no Bishop or priest shall exercise his functions in the diocese of a foreign Bishop without his consent ; * and that to justify

him to self-restraint and common action alike, and, in cases of emergency, as inspiring him with courage to intervene in a neighbouring Diocese or community which needs admonition. After giving illustrations of such intervention, “It seems to me,” he writes, “to justify a Bishop in venturing to act in other Dioceses than his own, in cases where he has reason to believe that the general approval of the Church will follow what he has done, not where he acts in an arbitrary and singular manner.” He continues, with reference to this special case : “The duty of Bishops in the present divided state of the Church is not so easy to define as it might have been under other circumstances. As far as I can judge, where any of ourselves are asked to interfere (as our Bishops may be asked, by a body of reformed Christians on the Continent), a single Archbishop or Bishop should not intervene without previous consultation with the other Bishops of the province to which he belongs, and without reasonable expectation that the whole communion will approve. It does not belong to my subject to inquire how far authority was actually given by the Synod or the Bishops of the Church of Ireland for the consecration of Bishop Cabrera, but I mention that as an illustration of the kind of difficult problem which may arise. If such authority were actually given by resolution of the Bishops of a province, it would make such an act, in my opinion, much more regular than if it were not given. If the authorization were merely one of silent acquiescence or abstinence from overt disapproval, it would, without any manner of doubt, be more difficult to uphold what was done. Bishops surely ought to act together and to have the courage either to approve or to disapprove of each other’s action in difficult cases. They ought also to act as representing the conscience of the whole communion; not merely with reference to local sympathies.”

* See Canon 2 of the Second General Council of Constantinople : “save on invitation Bishops shall not go outside their own Dioceses for the purpose of ordination or any other ecclesiastical administration.” *Diocese* here signifies an aggregate of provinces, patriarchates or exarchates. See Bright, *The Canons of the First Four General Councils with Notes* (ed. 2), pp. 101-106, and Bingham, *Antiq.*, bk. ix. c. i.

a return to the earlier precedent two things were essential—that the circumstances should be exceptional, and should be pronounced to be exceptional by an authority competent to make such a pronouncement. He declared that unrestricted exercise of the earlier precedent would end all order and discipline within the Church; and much as he felt that the circumstances were exceptional, he failed to find them declared so by any authority he judged competent.*

Between 1878 and 1888, in which year the Third Lambeth Conference met, Bishop Sandford learnt more of the movement and its character. In 1888 he believed there were 10,000 "Protestants" in Spain, of whom 7000 were Presbyterians. He became increasingly convinced that the movement was in no sense a national movement, like our own Reformation; that its progress was slow; that it was confined to the lower and uneducated classes, and was dependent in large measure upon foreign money.

Meanwhile the Irish Bishops had proceeded to consider the application for a Bishop brought before the Conference of 1878; and though somewhat cautiously, moved in the direction of acceding to it. But before doing so, they waited for the further deliberation of the Conference of 1888 on the subject. In due time that Conference again took the application in hand. The Committee appointed with reference to this and cognate subjects concluded their Report on this matter with these words:—

"We feel it our duty to express the opinion that the consecration, by Bishops of our Communion, of a Bishop, to exercise his functions in a foreign country, within the limits of an ancient territorial jurisdiction and over the natives of that country, is a step of the gravest importance and fraught with enduring consequences, the issues of which cannot be foreseen.

§§ 3, 4. Also the 36th (so called) Apostolic Canon, which directs that "no Bishop shall presume to hold ordinations outside his own bounds for cities and districts not subject to him." (See Hefele, *History of Christian Councils to A.D. 325* [tr. by W. R. Clark], pp. 449 ff., for an account of these Canons. For the 36th, see p. 472.)

* S., 1880, pp. 60 ff.

Whilst the rights of Bishops of the Catholic Church to interpose under conditions of extreme necessity has always been acknowledged, we deprecate any action that does not carefully regard primitive and established principles of jurisdiction and the interests of the whole Anglican Communion.”*

It is worth record that that Committee included Bishop Sandford and four Irish Bishops—the Archbishop of Dublin, and the Bishops of Cashel, Cork, and Derry.

The following Resolutions were passed by the Conference, *nemine contradicente* :—

“That, with regard to the reformers in Italy, France, Spain, and Portugal, struggling to free themselves from the burden of unlawful terms of communion, we trust that they may be enabled to adopt such sound forms of doctrine and discipline, and to secure such Catholic organization as will permit us to give them a fuller recognition.”

“That, without desiring to interfere with the rights of Bishops in the Catholic Church to interpose in cases of extreme necessity, we deprecate any action that does not regard primitive and established principles of jurisdiction and the interests of the whole Anglican Communion.”†

These Resolutions, together with the Report of the Committee, the Bishop laid before his Diocese in his Pastoral of that year. He expressed his sense that the step sought required “conditions of extreme necessity,” and the full and deliberate approval of the Church to which the Bishop acting in response to the prayer belonged. In spite of the errors of the Roman Church, he held that that Church, having a valid ministry and administering true though imperfect sacraments, had not forfeited her right to be treated as a Christian Church having jurisdiction within her own territory. He therefore concluded that the conditions were not “of extreme necessity.” It was also clear that the Church of England had not given authoritative approval of the consecration desired. He pointed

* *The Lambeth Conferences*, 1867, 1878, 1888, p. 345.

† *The Lambeth Conferences*, pp. 282 f. [Res. 15 (D), (E).]

out that to accede to the memorial involved the obligation to go much further, and to send missions under missionary Bishops to re-convert South Europe, and restore it to Christianity. He summed up the case for his people as follows:—

“From regard to ‘those interests of the whole Anglican Communion,’ to which the Bishops refer in their Resolution, and for the sake of order and ultimate peace, it is to be hoped that no such action as the Bishops deprecate will be taken by any portion of our Church. A departure from that policy which ever since the Reformation we have consistently followed, of not interfering in the concerns of foreign Christian Communion, would plunge us into a sea of new difficulties. It would weaken our protest against Roman aggression. It would involve the abandonment of our unique position, on which ardent hopes have been fixed, that our Church might one day be the means of restoring unity to Christendom. It would produce internal divisions amongst our own people, wound the hearts of very many, and frustrate those hopes which of late years we have been entertaining that the different parties within our Church were being brought into closer accord. The Church of England has a great and important part to play in healing the divisions of Christ’s people. Members of the Church of Rome have themselves proclaimed their belief that she is the only possible intermediary in bringing together Protestants and Catholics. But this part of peace-maker she can only play by loyal and resolute adherence to her own position and principles, to her own doctrine and discipline, and to her own historical policy of not intruding as an active propagandist within the province of other Christian Churches.” *

The Irish Episcopate proceeded undeterred. It is not part of the purpose of the present writer to dwell on the course followed, in which the Bishops were not absolutely unanimous, or on the character of the provisions secured in the constitutions of the Spanish and Lusitanian Churches,

* S., 1888, pp. 26, 27.

The result was that the Archbishop of Dublin (Lord Plunket), assisted by the Bishops of Down (Dr. Welland) and Clogher (Dr. Stack), using the Irish form of consecration, on September 23, 1894, consecrated in Madrid, as Bishop of the "Spanish Reformed Church," the Reverend Don Juan Bautista Cabrera.* They did not consecrate a Bishop for the Lusitanian (Portuguese) Reformed congregations, and have not done so since.

Bishop Sandford had a few months before, in his Address to his Diocesan Conference in July (see *supra*, p. 128), dealt once more with the matter, declining to be any party to such an act of intrusion as he believed the consecration would be, and declaring his intention of maintaining his consistent position of sympathetic aloofness.† Three years later the Lambeth Conference of 1897 passed the following Resolution (No. 32):—

"That we repeat the expressions of sympathy (contained in the Report of the Lambeth Conference of 1888) with the brave and earnest men of France, Italy, Spain, and Portugal who have been driven to free themselves from the burden of unlawful terms of Communion imposed by the Church of Rome; and continue to watch these movements with deep and anxious interest, praying that they may be blessed and guided by Almighty God."

In his Pastoral of 1897 Bishop Sandford referred to the matter for the last time, setting forth once more his own attitude of non-interference, and expressing his anxiety that his chaplains and congregations should make it their own. It must in fairness be stated that at the same time he left them free to take that course which their own conscience and reason prescribed, while disclaiming, as has been said, on the part of the Church of England and himself all responsibility for acts of the clergy which went beyond the express terms of the Licence granted them. Some accordingly departed from his position, notably the Rev. T. G. P. Pope, chaplain at

* Bishop Cabrera died, aged 78, May 18, 1916. See *The Guardian*, May 25, 1916.

† S., 1894, p. 35.

Lisbon 1867-1902. Dr. Pope co-operated actively with the Portuguese reformers in developing their organization and compiling their Prayer Book, and was practically their head, though more than once he declined to be their Bishop. But he never forfeited the regard of Bishop Sandford, as is seen in the generous notice of his life and character which appeared in the Pastoral of 1902 (pp. 36-39).

It may be asked, in what way did the Bishop, pursuing this policy of sympathetic aloofness, expect the Church of England to make her due contribution as a Catholic Apostolic and Reformed Church, towards the building up of National Reformed Churches in Italy and the Peninsula? The reply is, by such a presentation in those countries of her own principles of faith, life, and worship as will serve as a guide and encouragement to any movement which is truly native and national, and by readiness to place her experience and knowledge at the command of those who seek it. And few in the Diocese will now doubt his wisdom and foresight.

Although to those English whose concern in such matters is but languid and superficial, the immense labour spent by the Bishop in them may have appeared unnecessary, there can be no doubt that to the great majority of his flock he rendered infinite service; and his labour in persistently informing his Diocese, and treating it as really and deeply involved, as *solidaire* with the Church of England, in the determination of a question which far exceeded the interests of particular chaplaincies and the current hour, did much almost insensibly to mature the corporate life of the Diocese, to enlarge its horizon, and to advance its cohesion.

IV

THE EPISCOPATE OF BISHOP COLLINS, 1904-1911

CHAPTER XI

THE PROGRESS OF DIOCESAN LIFE

Bishop Collins: Personal Notes

WILLIAM EDWARD COLLINS was the second son of Joseph Henry Collins, a mining engineer, and was born on February 18, 1867. His father's work took him in 1881 into Spain for an appointment at Rio Tinto, and the future Bishop spent some years there with his parents, and so acquired a knowledge of Spanish which in after years proved of great service to him. Later he entered a lawyer's office in London, where the experience gained contributed to the form and precision with which when required he drew up formal documents. In October, 1884, he entered Selwyn College, Cambridge, and after graduating in mathematics, threw himself into historical studies, won the Lightfoot Scholarship in 1889, and one of the Prince Consort Prizes in 1890. After ordination in that year, and a period of work on the staff of All Hallows', Barking, he returned to Cambridge in 1891 as Lecturer in History at Selwyn and St. John's Colleges. Two years later he was appointed Professor of Ecclesiastical History at King's College, London. This post he held until his nomination to the See of Gibraltar in 1903. He was consecrated on St. Paul's Day, 1904, in Westminster Abbey by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Davidson), assisted by the Bishops of London (Dr. Winnington-Ingram),



WILLIAM EDWARD COLLINS, BISHOP OF GIBRALTAR, 1904—1911

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Salisbury (Dr. Wordsworth), Bristol (Dr. Forrest Browne), St. Alban's (Dr. Jacob), Newcastle (Dr. Lloyd), Colchester (Dr. Blomfield), Bishop Webb and Bishop Montgomery. The sermon was preached by the friend to whom he owed so much, Dr. A. J. Mason. He was then thirty-six years of age, and had already taken the degree of D.D. at Cambridge. On the day following, his marriage with Miss Mary Brewin Sterland crowned a long friendship. He was enthroned at Gibraltar on February 7, 1904.

In spite of continuous delicacy, for he suffered from weakness of the heart from undergraduate days, and was ever "an eager and undaunted spirit housed in a frail tabernacle," his extraordinary diligence, omnivorous reading, exceptional power of memory, clear-sightedness, self-reliance, and facility and readiness in expressing himself, had already drawn him into a prominent place in English Church life. He had much to do with the formation and growth of the Church Historical Society, and was Vice-President of it for ten years (1895-1904), during which his own contributions to its output were of great variety and value. As a member of the Committee of the Dictionary of National Biography, and as Departmental Editor of the articles on Religion of the additional volumes of the "Encyclopædia Britannica" (1899), as an investigator and expert consulted and trusted by Archbishops Temple and Maclagan in the Hearing and Judgment concerning processional Lights and Incense of 1899, and as a writer and reviewer on multifarious subjects of historical and liturgical importance, he made his mark rapidly and securely. But he was far more than an ardent scholar. The pastoral instinct was exceedingly strong in him; and illness and the knowledge of his own frailty gave him peculiar ministerial tenderness and understanding. At King's College he was indeed pastor as much as professor. As early as 1895 he was called to Cairo to conduct Holy Week devotions. In the winter of 1901, on the invitation of Archbishop Nuttall of Jamaica, he carried out a mission in the West Indies with remarkable power; and soon after his consecration, in fulfilment of a promise made before his nomination to the Bishopric, he took

part in the Mission of Help to South Africa. From 1893 he shared the work of the Society of Watchers and Workers as Chaplain of a Watch. But it is impossible here to do more than thus indicate the two sides of this gifted personality. He was at once historical scholar and fervent shepherd of souls. The full picture of him must be sought in the memoir written by his friend of many years, Dr. Mason.* Of the many briefer reviews of his life and work, that in the *Selwyn College Calendar*, 1911, from the pen of his friend and chaplain, the Rev. A. L. Brown, then tutor of the College, is based on a long intimacy.

While the store of knowledge and experience amassed by the Bishop during his earlier years was, as will appear, of infinite service to his Diocese, the assured position he had attained in Church life at home affected his work abroad to an appreciable degree. It was impossible for him to divest himself of the responsibilities it laid on him. Restlessly active in mind and spirit, and constitutionally almost incapable of declining a request for aid or the investigation of a matter referred to him, he strove to meet the calls of his Diocese and of the home Church at once. Thus his episcopal work abroad was broken by many hasty journeys to England. It may be noted that in his travel he took little trouble to husband his scanty strength. His "holidays" were occupied by laborious research. In the Pan-Anglican Conference of 1908, and the Lambeth Conference which followed it, he took a prominent share. In the former he was Chairman of Section F, which dealt with the Anglican Communion; and he conducted it with such conspicuous ability, learning, and decision as made that section perhaps the outstanding feature of the Congress, and his chairmanship the most marked success of his public life, and the high-water mark of his powers.† In the Lambeth Conference he gave immense labour to the work of

* *Life of William Edward Collins, Bishop of Gibraltar*, by Arthur James Mason, D.D., 1912.

† The Bishop pressed the importance of the Pan-Anglican Congress on the attention of his Diocese. The Diocesan Offering of £572 (of which £379 was devoted to the General Fund, and £193 was ear-marked) came from forty-two chaplaincies. A.C.M., 1908. Sept., p. xv.

Committees, and shared the task of drafting the Encyclical. But all this was a severe strain on his physical strength, which had been taxed during the previous winter by his journey into Kurdistan; and in the background was the serious illness of Mrs. Collins, who died in July, 1909. When he resumed Diocesan work in the winter of 1908 he was already enfeebled, and in a weak state of health he contracted a septic throat during or immediately after his ministry at Messina on the occasion of the great earthquake of December 28. This gradually developed into consumption of the throat, which in the course of 1910 rendered him unable to speak save in a whisper. With a marvellous courage he worked to the end, visiting colonies and chaplaincies in the Peninsula, Malta, and the Mediterranean in the winter of 1910-1911. At the very last he held two confirmations (to which he had to be carried) at Constantinople on March 13, 1911, writing on March 21 a long Pastoral of Peace to the congregation of the Crimean Memorial Church, and insisting on sailing for Smyrna on March 23. He died early on the 24th, before the vessel entered the port. He was but forty-four years of age. His body was laid to rest on March 27 in the crypt of St. John the Evangelist's Church. The Greek Archbishop, who gave an address and the Blessing, the Greek Bishop of Tralles, the Armenian Bishop, and representatives of the French, German, and American congregations were present. He left a deep and unique impression on all who came within the range of his influence, whether as student, administrator, traveller, preacher or saint.

An episcopate of seven years soon passes, and the great war has removed from the Diocese many of those who knew the Bishop and cherished his memory. In order that those who come after may know from those who lived near him what manner of man he was, and may have some clear pictures to keep fresh our recollection of him, three portraits of him are given. The first is from the pen of his life-long friend Dr. Mason; the second from that of the Bishop of Wakefield, in which he is seen in the Lambeth Conference at the height of his powers; the last, that of the Archbishop

of Canterbury, bears testimony to the mark he left on the Church of his day.

I

"Bishop Collins was indeed a man of many sides. He might, from one point of view, be considered as almost a chronic invalid, with occasional accesses of illness which cut him off for longer or shorter periods from public work. He made no concealment of his illnesses, though he made no parade of them. The sympathy which they drew out from others he received with unaffected gratitude, and repaid with an unmeasured outflow of affection. He came to be on terms of great intimacy with many different sets of people. But these intimacies were marked not only by an unreserved disclosure of his own heart; they were marked by two other things. One was an entire reticence about his relations with other people. He never gave away the confidence reposed in him, and some of his closest friends never knew of similar friendships which he had formed elsewhere. He was reserved even to secretiveness with regard to them. The second thing which marked these relationships was that with all their tenderness there lay at the bottom of them that element of severity, that constant demand of moral effort, which cannot be absent from Christian sanctity.

"I have greatly failed in the task which I set myself, if the reader of these pages fails to see in Bishop Collins, alongside of an almost woman-like power of attachment, the character of a strong man. His intellect was a strong man's intellect. He had a vigorous grasp of principles, and at the same time a most remarkable faculty for amassing and mastering detailed information. He saw the meaning of a problem swiftly, and he was not contented until he had strenuously examined and co-ordinated the facts which gave the clue to the solution. His was no second-hand learning, no unverified acceptance of other men's opinions. Yet the student's passion was never allowed to become predominant in him. These pages mention a warning sent to him in early life not to let his 'absorbing intellectual interests encroach' upon his 'spiritual and pastoral life.' If the warning was needed, it

was heeded. One who knew him well wrote after his death, to draw this as the main lesson from his life—‘the grace by which he made the intellect subserve the spirit, counting as nought the things of the former, where they failed to make clearer and more attainable the things of the latter.’ ‘In that missionary life,’ this writer says, ‘the old pursuits of reading and research, writing and deep thinking, were renounced, cheerfully sacrificed to the routine and demands of his enormous diocese; but when he became persuaded that such was the will of God, he turned his back on the life which offered these dear delights with the cheeriness and whole-heartedness which he himself would have called—in another—“playing the game.”’ We have often heard of a *sacrificio dell’ intelletto*: in this case it was a sacrifice which contained nothing that was not admirable.

“Next to this steady concentration of aim, the most marked characteristic of the man was his physical and moral courage. A letter from a layman, who was one of his best friends, lies before me. The writer says: ‘The two features of his character must always be the breadth of his mind and his extraordinary personal courage, both rooted in a simple and unassuming confidence in the Almighty’s decrees. Whatever it was to be, it must be right: one only goal in front of him—to make for it regardless of all, whether on the right hand or the left, so long as the object aimed at was reached.’ The courage of which this friend speaks was not shown only in crises of imminent danger, but in the way in which the Bishop at the last deliberately took his life in his hand, and travelled and laboured and ministered when any one else would have retired to the sick-room.” (Dr. Mason’s *Life*, pp. v. ff.)

II

“No one who was at the Lambeth Conference in 1908 could fail to be vividly impressed by the personality of Bishop Collins, of Gibraltar. Those of us who knew him well were not wholly taken by surprise, but to many he seemed to come quite as a revelation. . . . Slight, almost frail, with his pale and delicate features, high forehead and clear eyes, he

seemed the last man to sway an assembly of the unique kind, which comprised men of independent minds—*tot reguli*, as Archbishop Benson used to call them—accustomed to rule and to express themselves with decision. Yet the moment he rose to speak, and that clear, penetrating voice began, we all felt that a master mind had been at work, and the subject assumed a new importance.

“What struck me most of all, perhaps, was the sure-footed way in which he intervened in so many problems, some of them of a difficult and intricate character. His knowledge was as astonishing in its variety and range as it was accurate in detail. Facts, dates, names of less known writers, customs of many lands, came pouring out upon some particular point, as if from an erudite article in an encyclopædia, leaving the shorthand writer almost breathless in pursuit. And this remarkable and ready information was matched by a singularly clear and ripe judgment. When the conclusion was reached, you felt as if the last word on the subject had been said, and were not surprised to find that he had powerfully influenced the final resolution or report in question.

“And this sureness of knowledge and judgment was coupled with a lofty conception and a dignified yet humble spirit, that held us at times quite spellbound with admiration. Whether he was laying down great principles or precedents, or surveying present conditions with profound insight and sympathy, there was the same decisiveness and quiet confidence, against which there seemed no appeal. And with all this quietness there was a suppressed fire in him, which was ready to blaze forth against any unrealities or fantastic theories, and he could be uncompromising, inexorable, and stern in the face of errors. He was extraordinarily clear in his vision of the Church of England, as combining liberty with order, and progress with fidelity to Apostolic faith and discipline. He saw her, as Bishop Lightfoot had done, as the potential mediator between great communions, the rallying point for different standards of faith. As such he fought for liberty of custom for her where some would have feared to concede it, while, on the other hand, he would not surrender one single part of the heritage he believed she

was intended to guard in the expression of her faith and worship.

"This is, I fear, a poor account of the impression left on my own mind by this remarkable man. But it would be incomplete without one more touch which gave distinction and grace to all that he said, namely, the evident spirit of prayer and nearness to God which breathed through it all. His was a big soul in a delicate frame, a brave, undaunted spirit betraying itself every moment under unusual limitations of bodily strength. The Church has lost in him a saint, a scholar, and a theologian, of a type which perhaps only our own Church produces, and that only once in a generation." (Dr. Mason's *Life*, pp. 135, 136.)

III

"When eight years ago it fell to me to nominate for that strange Diocese and jurisdiction a man who might be consecrated Bishop, I felt that it was in direct answer to many prayers that we were guided to make choice of the original scholar and thinker and man of God, whose fragile emaciated body was with such pathos and significance laid to rest last spring at Smyrna after seven short years of undaunted toil. That life has been, as we already see, of abundant good in its effect upon our Church's relations with Christian Churches old and new from the rock of Gibraltar to the Golden Horn, or the Balkan towns, or the mountains of Kurdistan. The tireless energy of his apostolic ministry enabled him 'in journeyings often, in perils in the city, in perils in the sea, in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often,' to utilize everywhere the extraordinary range of his varied literary and ecclesiastical knowledge and the forcefulness of his eager personality. He has left a quite distinctive mark as student, administrator, traveller, preacher, saint, upon the Church life of his time." (Archbishop of Canterbury, *The Character and Call of the Church of England*, p. 13.)

Progress of Diocesan Life, 1904-1911.—The character of the progress made in diocesan life during Bishop Collins' episcopate would have been impossible without the

long labour of Bishop Sandford, and is an eloquent testimony to it. It lay not so much in the initiation of fresh operation as in the guidance of the heightened Church life of the Diocese on clear and accepted principles. It will be readily appreciated that as the spirit of both congregations and the body of clergy became more decidedly that of a Diocese of the Church of England, many questions were bound to arise which called for Episcopal formative direction and decision as to the internal life and conduct of the Diocese and chaplaincies. The diocese was blessed indeed in having at this particular point in its history a Bishop so qualified and ready to decide in such matters with knowledge and authority; and in the development of orderly Church life, the laying down of guiding precedents and the consequently greater appreciation of the position, authority, and responsibility of the Bishop consists the lasting benefit and mark of his masterly hand within the Diocese. It is in this respect that his episcopate constituted a real advance made towards diocesan maturity and independence.

The Bishop's temperament, his broken health, and his large interests in England necessarily made his method of diocesan work different from that of his predecessor. It has been said that he darted to and fro to meet needs without delay, rather than allow them to wait until his programme brought him to the spot. He issued no such Pastoral Letters as Bishop Sandford's; indeed, it is doubtful if he possessed the series, or even knew of it. He made use of *The Anglican Church Magazine* as his usual medium of communication with the Diocese, and in its pages appeared his directions and plans for travel, and in particular the narrative of the journey to Kurdistan, which was later reprinted with some additions for private circulation. But he made ample amends, so far as the history of the Diocese goes, by the exact and minute Bishop's Register which he kept. This contains the record of all his episcopal acts, including not only that of licences issued, confirmations, consecrations of churches and burial grounds (often accompanied by precise descriptions of sites), but also of rulings given, letters of direction and admonition, and notes "*ad rei memoriam*" of matters of diocesan

importance. This Register makes a great contribution to the possibility of continuity of episcopal policy and action.

(a) **Extension of preceding work.** The progress of ordinary diocesan work continued uninterrupted. Many chaplaincies attained more settled life. Six churches: St. George's, Barcelona * (May 7, 1905), St. Andrew's, Tangier † (December 3, 1905), St. George's, Venice (April 23, 1906), St. John the Evangelist's, St. Raphael (February 2, 1907), All Saints', Milan ‡ (October 24, 1909), and Holy Trinity, Algiers § (November 14, 1909), and ten Burial-grounds || were consecrated. It would serve no useful purpose now to relate the difficulties and opposition which attended the building and consecration of the first of these churches, owing to Spanish prejudice and state law, especially as that law is now modified; but the record of them in the pages of the *Anglican Church Magazine* ¶ is a striking testimony to the

* The C.C.C.S. was to be the trustees for and the legal owners of this church, *C. Reg.*, 80.

† H.M. Government is the responsible owner of this church and its churchyard, *C. Reg.*, 169.

‡ The patronage of this church was transferred by the Bishop of London to the Bishop of Gibraltar in 1905. The church and land on which it stands was conveyed to the Bishopric of London on behalf of the Bishop of Gibraltar for the time being, to be held in trust. *C. Reg.*, 713; *A.C.M.*, 1906, January, p. xiv.

§ The site of this church was made over by deed of gift from the French Government to the *Association de la Colonie Anglaise* as represented by the *Conseil d'Administration* for Church purposes, in the place of the portion of land on which the former church stood. *C. Reg.*, 722.

|| These are Genoa (March 27, 1904); Corfu (November 26, 1904); Pieta (Military), Malta (February 25, 1905); Alicante (October 12, 1905); Tangier (December 3, 1905); Hughesovka (May 28, 1906); Bucarest (June 25, 1906); Madalena Road, Malta (February 14, 1908); Almeria (April 30, 1908); Villagarcia (October 20, 1910).

¶ See *A.C.M.*, 1903, pp. 45 ff., 73, 96; 1904, p. 45; 1910, p. 74. The change of law referred to was that affected by the Royal Order of June 10, 1910, which provided that it is to be understood that external signs indicating edifices, ceremonies, rites, uses or customs of forms of worship different from that of the religion of the State do not constitute "public manifestations" and are therefore authorized. In consequence of the earlier law two crosses on St. George's Church were removed by Bishop Collins on the day before its consecration. It has not yet been deemed expedient to replace them.

perseverance and patience of the British colony in Barcelona. Hopes of Churches in Madrid and Bucarest were born. Parsonages were provided for both churches at Mentone, and, through the generosity of Mr. C. H. Lowe, at Marseilles. The indefiniteness as to the limits of the Bishop of Gibraltar's jurisdiction over Anglican communities in Russia, arising from the vagueness of the term "on the shores of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov," was removed by an agreement come to with the Bishop of London that the communities at Kiev on the north and Baku on the Caspian should be regarded as under the Bishop of Gibraltar. This added the chaplaincies of Hughesovka and Baku to our Diocese.* It is worth record that the resignation of the chaplain at Trieste in 1905 and the death of the chaplain at Marseilles in 1909 ended the Consular Chaplaincies in these ports and in the Diocese.† The maintenance of these chaplaincies has since rested on the congregations alone. The chaplaincy at Messina, one of our oldest (see p. 21), came to an end with the death of the chaplain and the destruction of the church-room and of the prosperous Sailors' Home in the earthquake of December 28, 1908,‡ and it has not yet been possible to revive it.

* "It has now been settled, as between the Bishops of London and Gibraltar, that the south of Russia as far as Kiev falls within the jurisdiction of the latter. The chaplaincy of Hughesovka therefore now comes within the jurisdiction of Gibraltar." Bishop Collins, *A.C.M.*, March, 1905, p. xvi. "In consequence of a settlement of jurisdiction over Anglicans in Russia, the chaplaincy at Baku comes within the jurisdiction of Gibraltar," *ib.*, May, 1905, p. xiv. Both settlements have been confirmed by the present Bishop of Gibraltar.

† *A.C.M.*, 1905, July, p. xiv; 1909, May, p. xv.

‡ In this disaster not less than 60,000 persons perished, including 60 of the British community of 130, among whom were the chaplain, his wife and family. The Bishop had held service at Messina only a week previously, and hurried from Malta to give what aid he could. His manuscript list of the British who perished is in the possession of the present writer. An account of his labours on this occasion is given in Dr. Mason's *Life*, pp. 137 ff., and in the *A.C.M.* The Messina Earthquake Fund received £634 from the Diocese, of which £204 was earmarked for provision of church services for the English survivors settled in Catania. Later, £500 was given from the British Earthquake Relief Fund to help to replace the Sailors' Home and Institute. Both

The work of the Gibraltar Mission to Seamen was fully maintained. In 1903 a writer, not of the Diocese, described it as "a thoroughly organized and business-like work, which is regarded as a primary diocesan duty." It found in the Bishop an enthusiastic advocate. His readiness to travel by any boat, tramp or liner, that was available, enabled him to gain first-hand knowledge of conditions of seamen's life; and his speech at Nice in 1907 is one of the fullest expositions we have of the need, the character, and the end of the G.M.S. The annual income reached £2000 in 1905; and the raising of the *Sandford Endowment Fund* to £1000, and the noble gift of Mr. C. H. Lowe greatly augmented its resources. Mr. Lowe, a friend of seamen for sixty years and for twenty years connected with the G.M.S., gave, in 1905, land at Bordighera valued at £12,000 to be sold, the proceeds to be invested for the G.M.S. and the Chaplaincies Sustentation Fund, which was opened in that year. He died in 1909. At the end of his episcopate the Bishop discerned the need of an Institute at Nicolaieff on the Bug in South Russia, and the provision of one was warmly taken up by the Diocese after his death. The great war has, however, caused the postponement of actual building, for which a sum of £2000 is now in hand.*

(b) The Diocesan Conference and Synod of 1905.

All this, however, was but the natural sequel of earlier history. But in other directions fresh steps forward of Diocesan organization and effectiveness were made.

The first of these, the holding of a Diocesan Conference, and Synod of Clergy at Westminster, on July 11-14, 1905, was the chief event of the life of the Diocese during these years. This was not an absolutely new thing, for eleven years previously (see pp. 127 f.) Bishop Sandford had held

these sums (now increased) are now in the keeping of the Diocesan Trust, and it is hoped in time to carry out the purposes for which they were given. See *A.C.M.*, 1909, March, pp. 40 ff.; May, p. xvi; July, p. xiv.

* *A.C.M.*, 1903, p. 116; 1907, May, pp. 51 ff.; 1905, Nov., p. 177; 1909, May, p. 85. See also *Report of G.M.S.*, 1905, pp. 9, 46.

such a Conference. Of this earlier Conference Bishop Collins spoke as "a gathering held only on a small scale and in a tentative way." It would seem that he was not aware that almost as many attended the former Conference as the latter, and he had, perhaps, not seen Bishop Sandford's account of it. But on the former occasion there was no Synod of Clergy, which was in Bishop Collins' eyes a very noteworthy part of the event.

It will be well to emphasize the importance of the Conference and Synod. In this Diocese, excepting in the case of chaplains in the Riviera from Marseilles to Genoa, great distances separate chaplaincies and clergy—the chaplain at Baku is by rail more than 4500 miles distant from his brother-chaplain at Lisbon—and intercourse in which there is exchange of experience and taking of counsel together is both rare and expensive. Many chaplains are as it were at the ends of the ribs of a fan, and can meet only at the handle. Moreover, until 1912 the Diocese had no organ of its own through which could be spread general information about chaplaincies and communities differing widely as to conditions and needs, and about questions concerning the welfare of all. The circulation of Bishop Sandford's Pastoral Letters was small, and the *Anglican Church Magazine* was, in the main, the organ of the chaplaincies of North and Central Europe. It was issued only in alternate months, and though ably edited, was never generally read in this Diocese though supplied to clergy and churchwardens. Thus anything like a corporate deliberation or expression of opinion is at all times a matter of extreme difficulty with us.

How helpful conference is among us has been shown in the annual meetings of clergy of the Riviera, which had now become a settled institution in that part of the Diocese, and were usually attended by twenty to twenty-five clergy. These, however, are of clergy alone, and those drawn from chaplaincies not differing greatly in character; and it is acknowledged that the judgment and co-operation of the laity in deliberations regarding the life and management of the Diocese is indispensable for welfare. It is quite possible for the Bishop of Gibraltar to be in close and constant

communication with leading laity and clergy of every chaplaincy and colony: the crux is to provide for their mutual knowledge and meeting together. This cannot often be; the only centre is London, where "the ribs of the fan" really meet. The importance of the Conferences of 1894 and 1905 was that this took place; and the distinctive mark of that of 1905 was that the clergy met the Bishop in Synod; the benefit was that on many points, to be referred to later, direction was given, after deliberation, by the Bishop; and the significance was the evidence of advance of the Diocese in maturity of life, coherence, and corporate action.

Of the matters considered at the Conference, the greater number concerned the internal economy and life of the chaplaincies. These, though of great importance to those working in the Diocese, may be of less interest to others, and it seems better to present them separately in some detail. But one subject came under deliberation which has to do with the growth of what may be called the working effectiveness of diocesan life, and this will be rightly dealt with here. It was the maintenance of poorer chaplaincies, and the provision of the ministrations of the Church for communities too small to support chaplaincies and scattered over great areas.

(c) **Foundation of the Chaplaincies Sustentation Fund.**—With regard to this, matters stood where Bishop Sandford left them (see *supra*, p. 144). In particular, the urgent need of colonies in Spain and South Russia, and on the Danube, were felt. A proposal was made to enlarge the scope of the Gibraltar Mission to Seamen so as to embrace the maintenance of the inland-chaplaincies required. It was commonly known that Bishop Sandford had used the funds of the Mission under stress, as a temporary expedient, for such a purpose. But it was urged that such an extension would destroy the unique and distinctive claim and appeal of the Mission, and ultimately it was unanimously determined to proceed to form a *Chaplaincies Sustentation Fund* to meet the need, and to confine the scope and funds of the G.M.S. to seamen's work. The Bishop accordingly nominated a Committee which set to work at once. Hence arose the

fund known as *The Poorer Chaplaincies Aid Fund*, for which part of the benefit of the gift of Mr. Lowe, who was a member of the Conference, is available. This fund received about £700 in the course of the next three years, and has since obtained larger support as it has become better known. But the Bishop's occupation in other things, and his failing health, the superior attractiveness of sailors' work, ignorance of the spiritual condition and destitution of the colonies considered, have prevented it from having the support it required to effect its primary ends. It has rendered much aid to existing chaplaincies by grants to Clergy, Church and Parsonage Funds, and for meeting of special urgent calls, and has relieved the G.M.S. of certain expenditure which did not rightly fall within the scope of that mission. It has also from time to time met small expenses of clergy visiting remote colonies. It assisted in founding a chaplaincy for the Danubian ports in the autumn of 1905. But, owing largely to want of funds, this chaplaincy had to be suspended two years later, and since then there has been no chaplain to serve the Church at Sulina.* It has therefore so far failed to attain its first and chief object—the provision of regular ministrations to the smaller British colonies scattered throughout Spain, Roumania, and South Russia.†

(d) **The Gibraltar Diocesan Trust.**—An important new departure in diocesan organization was made in the constitution and registration on December 3, 1909, of the *Gibraltar Diocesan Trust*. This was formed under the *Companies (Consolidation) Act* of 1908 as a company limited by guarantee with a registered office situate in England. It was intended to meet the felt and acknowledged difficulties and dangers connected with the tenure of Church property on the Continent and the holding and administration of Diocesan capital funds. Grave questions had arisen in France in recent years upon the legal position and secure titles of even some of our corporate and trust properties. Individual cases of insecurity owing to breaks in continuity of ownership through death or bankruptcy, the loss of records

* *A.C.M.*, 1905, Nov., p. xiv ; 1907, Nov., p. xxii.

† See, further, *infra*, pp. 224 ff.

and deeds or flaws in conveyances, may indeed be confirmed by the formation of corporations in strict accordance with the *leges loci*; but the floating order of Church officers on the Continent, and the consequent lax administration of properties in which no one has a special individual interest makes any systematic rearrangement of this sort highly problematical. The constitution of the Bishop of Gibraltar as a corporation sole under the Letters Patent of 1842 met many of the difficulties which faced the disestablished Bishopric; * and the withdrawal of the Letters Patent left in our Diocese as bodies legally able to hold properties, beside local legally constituted associations, the Bishop of London and certain Societies, such as the National Society, the S.P.G., and the C.C.C.S. But it is clear that after the formation of the Bishopric of Gibraltar the Bishop of London as a corporation sole would look to be relieved of the burden of holding in trust properties in our Diocese. Moreover, though the National Society, so long as it acted as such a trustee, did not require the right of presentation to a chaplaincy as a condition of accepting the holding of a church in trust, and so was recommended by Bishop Sandford as the best body in which churches should be vested (*supra*, p. 121), the other two Societies named did so, and this involves some surrender (too little appreciated at the moment) of diocesan and local freedom of action as a price paid for service rendered.

But provision for the holding of property in sites, churches and church buildings, such as seamen's Institutes was not alone required. The large gift of Mr. Lowe, already referred to, in 1905, and the handing to the Bishop of sums of money collected after the Messina earthquake for the revival of seamen's work at Messina and church ministrations at Catania showed the need of a Trust which should hold and administer such gifts, and also bequests. And all experience shows that the changes and chances of particular chaplaincies would render a Diocesan Trust which could receive and invest capital sums belonging to chaplaincies, hold the securities, and pay the income regularly to local churchwardens and treasurers, a very great boon.

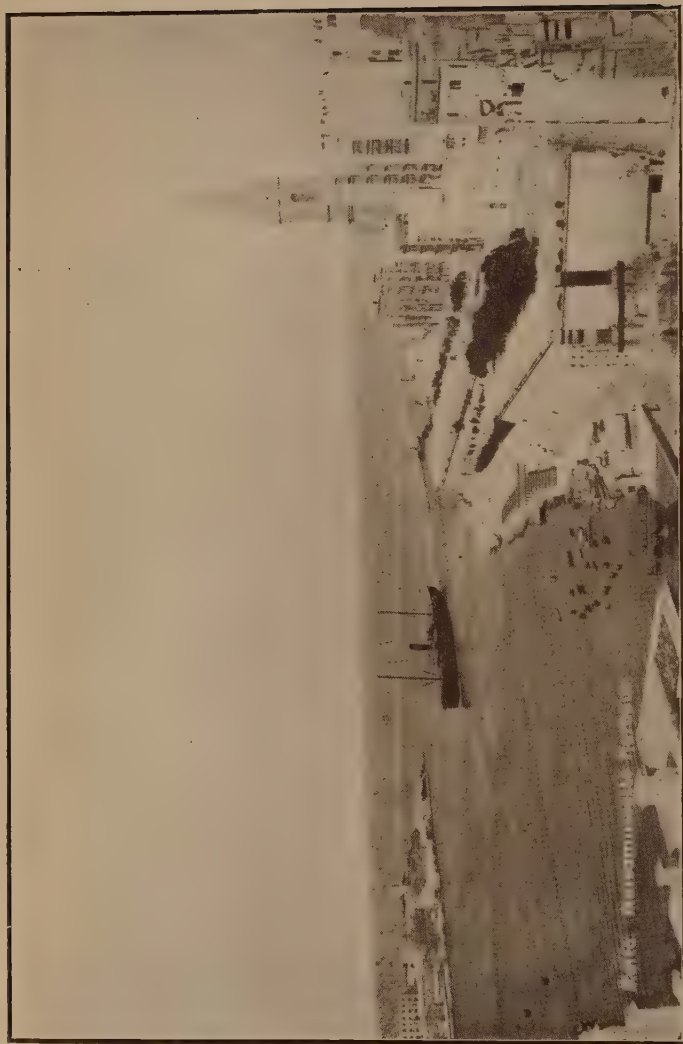
* See *supra*, pp. 43, 108.

Hence after much labour and with immense care the Trust was constituted with large powers and scope. "We have in it," wrote the Bishop, "a body which is capable of holding in trust, safely and without undue expense, Church property of all kinds, on behalf either of this Jurisdiction of Gibraltar as a whole, or of particular chaplaincies." It at once took in charge the proceeds of Mr. Lowe's gift and the parsonage at Marseilles due to the same generous churchman's munificence. Within a year it held diocesan securities to the amount of over £21,000—now (1916) £26,000. The Trust is not yet registered as a corporation capable of holding property in any continental country excepting France; but it is intended that this shall be done as soon as is possible and the expense involved can be met. It is believed that as the chaplaincies gain more adequate knowledge of it, its great serviceableness will be realized and larger use made of it. Divers incidents in the course of the great war have illustrated its worth.*

(e) **The Deanery of Gibraltar.**—Two additions to the dignity and the official staff and structure of the Diocese made by Bishop Collins require record.

The first of these was the inauguration of the Deanery of Gibraltar. The civil chaplain at Gibraltar, nominated by the Crown, has been an archdeacon since and even before 1842, and the Ven. D. S. Govett had filled the double office since 1882. On November 19, 1905, the Bishop by a *Deed of Inauguration* constituted him Dean of Gibraltar "with the advice and consent of Our Synod of Clergy holden in the private chapel of the Dean of Westminster on Friday, July 14, 1905, and with the sanction of the most Reverend Lord Randall, by Divine Providence Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, and with the approbation of His Excellency Sir F. W. Forestier Walker, Governor of Gibraltar." This left the situation in Gibraltar rather strange at the time, for the Civil

* See *A.C.M.*, 1910, March, pp. 22, 33 ff. (where the objects of the Trust as set out in the *Memorandum of Association* are given), xiv. Also 1910, Sept., p. 120. Also *G.D. Gazette*, 1912-13, pp. 73a, 133a; 1913-14, p. 20.



MARSAMUSCETTA HARBOUR, VALLETTA, SHEWING THE POSITION OF
ST. PAUL'S COLLEGIATE CHURCH

chaplain was nominated by the Secretary of State, while the appointment of the Dean rested with the Bishop. But in 1907 it was settled that the civil chaplain should be nominated by the Bishop of Gibraltar after consultation with the Governor; and thus the chaplaincy was merged in the Deanery.*

St. Paul's Church, Valletta, made a Collegiate Church.—The other was the inauguration of St. Paul's Church, Valletta, as a Collegiate Church by the promulgation of Statutes dated January 1, 1911.

It has been recorded that the Church had been originally intended to be a second cathedral for the Bishops of Gibraltar, and it had been so described since the foundation of the See. The description of it as "The Collegiate Church of St. Paul" had also been in common use, though until a Collegiate Body was attached to it the term had been felt to be meaningless (see *supra*, p. 55). The Bishop, with the assistance of his chaplain in England, the Rev. A. L. Brown, drew up statutes, and constituted the long-intended Collegiate Body—"saving always the rights and privileges of the Cathedral Church of the Holy Trinity at Gibraltar as the Mother Church of the Diocese and in all other ways," and with due safeguards of the rights of the vestry and the congregation. When complete the College was to consist of the Dean (who is the Bishop for the time being), the Chancellor (who is senior Canon), and four other Canons, with four lay members. At the inauguration only the Dean, the Chancellor (the Rev. A. F. Newton) and one other Canon (the Rev. H. J. Shaw) were installed.

The Bishop regarded his action as the sowing of a seed. He hoped that one effect of it would be to make Malta a centre of diocesan life again, and to bind the members of the College by a real and permanent link with St. Paul's. Ultimately, too, he thought that the provision of such a centre might have other effects. "The vexed question of the episcopal oversight of our people in and about Europe may some day be met by a redistribution of regions, and a division

* *A.C.M.*, 1906, Jan., pp. 21, xiii; 1907, Sept., p. xiii. *C. Reg.* 371.

by a line running north and south instead of east and west. In such a case there would be already two strong centres of English Church life available, both within the British Empire at Gibraltar and Malta." *

The elaborate statutes are a striking evidence of the Bishop's legal powers and capacity of drafting, and of his determination, especially when his illness of 1910 and extreme weakness at the time of the inauguration (within three months of his death) is realized. Some of the provisions are so exacting as to be difficult of fulfilment. The Canonries are of real value as enabling the Bishop to make some recognition of clergy within the Diocese. They are tenable by clergy only while actually serving in it. No lay-members of the College have yet been installed. The number of clerical canons has since been completed by the appointment of Canons F. C. Whitehouse (1911), A. A. Knollys (1913) and T. F. Buckton (1916).

* *A.C.M.*, 1911, March, pp. 50, xiii. f.

CHAPTER XII

THE EPISCOPATE OF BISHOP COLLINS (*continued*)

THE DIOCESAN CONFERENCE AND SYNOD OF CLERGY, 1905

THE conference of July 11-14, 1905, was arranged by a committee of 21, of whom 6 were laymen. The number summoned to it was 118. Of these 10 clergy (including the Secretaries of S.P.G. and C.C.C.S.) and 8 laymen, one of whom was Dr. Wickham Legg, were nominated by the Bishop; 3 were the Bishop's chaplains; 53 clergy and 44 laymen were elected representatives of chaplaincies. The Hon. Secretary was the Rev. R. W. Goodall. The largest attendance was 69, the lowest 57, the average 61. The Conference held four sessions. A full report was issued.

The subjects discussed were (1) Diocesan Sustentation of Poorer Chaplaincies; (2) Relations with other Christian bodies; (3) Organization and Internal Economy of Chaplaincies; (4) The Services of the Church Abroad. Of the discussions on the first of these some account has already been given. Noteworthy points of the second will be most conveniently given later. The discussions on the two other subjects dealt with matters affecting intimately the life and work of the Diocese.

(1) *Organization and Internal Economy of Chaplaincies*

The Organization and Internal Economy of Chaplaincies.—In regard to the internal economy of chaplaincies, though no resolution was proposed, the discussion was of the highest value, as it gave opportunity of bringing forward questions generally felt, and enabled the President to give

direction and guidance. Many of these questions arose entirely from the growth of our chaplaincies and the development of "season" chaplaincies, and could not have arisen in the earlier days of the Diocese. Foremost among them was the relation of chaplains and chaplaincies to Societies and other bodies of Trustees which had fostered chaplaincies, in which churches are vested, and which now in divers ways and degrees controlled them as to the character of services, finances, and general management.

(a) **Chaplaincies and Societies.**—It is natural for a congregation and a chaplain owing much to a Society to rely on it and to defer to it. The tendency to regard the attachment to the Society as more living than that to the Diocese can well be understood. It is equally easy for a Society, conscious of having rendered service, to look for control as a kind of recompense, even as a right, and think of such control as one of its duties and even objects. It may overlook the facts that growth to maturity involves independence and responsibility, that only due independence and action can develop responsible interest, that control may be exercised in such a way as to impair self-reliance and exertion, that the Diocese is the body to which all congregations essentially belong, and that the Bishop is the Ordinary of congregations, clergy, and churches alike. The dangers attending the benevolent action of Societies had been foreseen as early as 1869, and questions arising from it had frequently called for notice and action by Bishop Sandford ; * but they had not been so plainly and directly brought forward as at this conference. It is clearly the duty of Societies such as S.P.G. and C.C.C.S. within the Church of England so to render their service to a Diocese and congregations as to enable Diocesan life to attain maturity, independence, and responsibility as soon as possible ; to promote the recognition and exercise of episcopal authority ; and to avoid the distress which is caused within a growing body when a beneficent hand "from outside" seeks to establish an obligation and to practice a control as a consequence of assistance given. The happiest and proudest day for such Societies of the Church

* See *supra*, pp. 152 f.

of England is when a Bishop, clergy, and congregations can judge themselves able, with grateful acknowledgment of help received, to declare the intention of standing and working on their own feet and of administering and regulating their own life and resources, and so to release for action elsewhere the means which have contributed to their own growth. This is the truest and the lasting justification of such great Church Societies.

The chief points of control exercised by Societies on which the discussion turned were those of the services of the Church and the disposal of collections, together with the general control of chaplains. The Bishop's counsel was on the following lines. Our chaplaincies are chaplaincies of the Church of England, subject to the law of the Church, and things must not be done in them which are inconsistent with it. It was his duty to judge, as well as he could, whether anything done was disloyal to the Church. That was part of his work as Bishop, and he intended to do it. He had no intention whatever as to "Society Chaplaincies" that the regulations which they had thought good to make, and which had been accepted by the Bishop, should be infringed in any way. Such regulations made with the Bishop's sanction, he would see were carried out. But there was one thing that he was determined to secure: that it should be recognized that all alike were chaplaincies under the episcopal jurisdiction of the Bishop of Gibraltar, and that the link which united them one to another should be closer than the link which united them to any Society. He was determined that there should be no such thing as putting the Bishop's office into commission, and no undue interference by any home agency with the free development of any chaplaincy.

One of the speakers "ventured to say that, because a church was held in trust by a Society or body of Trustees it did not entitle those so holding it to interfere with the manner in which the services were to be conducted or with the chaplain in his capacity as a priest. A Society or Trustees would, of course, appoint as chaplain one who would be likely to conduct the services in accordance with their own ideas, and was suitable in other respects; but that

being once done, the chaplain should be left alone, as the incumbent of an English parish. Spiritual authority over him belonged to the Bishop alone, and the attempt to exercise it by others led to ill feeling and party-spirit." Another urged that it was most desirable that some steps should be taken with regard to the possibility that chaplaincies able to support themselves should be freed from the control of Societies, and declared that he knew of many cases in which the condition of the chaplaincy had been changed, and the Church tone had suffered, and even the *lex loci* been defied by some iron constitution of the Society.

On these points the Bishop's view was that the Diocese had a right* to look to S.P.G. and C.C.C.S. to do all they could to help to support chaplaincies in places where the chaplain could not locally be supported; but that it did not seem to be any part of their duty to retain connexion with a chaplaincy which is in a self-supporting condition, and that such chaplaincies should be allowed as soon as possible to stand by themselves. He was aware that in the case of chaplaincies in which the English Church is under a Society there was a tendency on the part of the Society to regard everything as within its control. But he held that the Society was owner of the property, but not more than that; and that questions regarding (*e.g.*) the Holy Communion and the time of services were matters for the chaplain and the Bishop, and not for any Society, and that local questions concerned the people, the Bishop, and the chaplain.†

(b) Control and Disposal of Church Collections.—

The question of the control and disposal of Church Collections involved reference to the responsibility and position of churchwardens and church committees or councils. Churchwardens have been appointed since 1634 (see p. 25) in our mercantile chaplaincies, primarily to deal with matters

* The Bishop's words appear to be based on the fact that such help is one of the declared objects of both Societies, and that both hold and receive money from Church people for this purpose.

† It will be seen that Bishop Collins' judgment as to the position of patrons in whom churches are vested repeats that of Bishop Sandford (see p. 120); and it is to be recorded that the Bishop of London as such a patron acts strictly in accordance with it.

financial and to make reports when necessary to the Bishop, but necessarily without the civil duties devolving upon churchwardens in England. Church Councils followed much later. Their primary object was to safeguard the property of the chaplaincies, not to manage the affairs of the congregation. As the Diocese came more into touch with Church life at home, and Societies entered the field, and as wealthy congregations gathered in the Riviera and Italy, it soon followed that Societies attempted to annex for their work (and especially to meet the cost of chaplaincies) or to dispose of the collections made in churches of which they were patrons and in "season chaplaincies." And representatives of innumerable good causes endeavoured to secure a hearing and funds in chaplaincies and churches as if they were "unworked goldfields from which they had a right to draw supplies," and put pressure on chaplains and churchwardens to give facilities for their doing so. In this matter in particular definite guidance was required, and the hands of churchwardens needed strengthening.

Churchwardens.—In speaking of churchwardens Mr. C. H. Lowe said that the office was "God's work, and not man's," and that the disposal of alms collected, as of money given to God, was a matter which called for the really prayerful care of the congregation. The Bishop endorsed this, and distinguished the function of churchwardens from that of a council. He laid down that the churchwarden is a spiritual officer, the recognized representative of the people in spiritual things, whom, as such, the church committee never could, and never ought to supersede.* Churchwardens,

* The Bishop was frequently called on to lay down the functions of churchwardens. This he did as follows :—(1) The churchwardens have the entire charge of the church during the time of divine service, and are responsible for the seating of the congregation and the preservation of good order. (2) They are to render all possible assistance to the chaplain in the performance of his duties, and especially when, on his first arrival, he is of necessity ignorant of persons and things. (3) It is their duty to report to the Bishop anything in the moral conduct of the chaplain or the performance of his duties which renders such report necessary, and to bring to his knowledge anything of importance in the general state of the congregation or chaplaincy. (4) They have charge of the funds, are to

as authorized officers, represent the people to the Bishop, with whom he deals as such, and whom he accepts also as his own officers. As in England, they do not, not even the warden whom the chaplain appoints, represent the chaplain; "if the chaplain cannot represent himself, he will never be represented"; and it is the duty of the chaplain so to exercise his office of choosing a churchwarden as to secure the representation and protection of a minority, and so to try to secure the good of all. The church committee deals with external, not spiritual, things, and with local concerns, with which bodies such as Societies or Trustees in England have no right to meddle. But no power could be recognized as residing in a church committee which declined responsibility for finance.

As to the disposal of church collections Bishop Sandford had long before directed the Diocese that the principle of the Prayer Book should be observed, viz. that their disposal rested with the chaplain and churchwardens on consultation, with appeal to the Bishop in case of difference. This was assumed at the Conference. One, who spoke from great experience, said, "The churchwardens will, naturally be consulted by the chaplain as to how collections are to be applied." But it was the pressure from outside to obtain collections that the Conference specially felt. "I fail to see," said the speaker just referred to, "on what principle it is assumed that the churchwardens, or perhaps the trustees,* have the

post the amount of the collections, Sunday by Sunday, to distribute them in accordance with the plan laid down; and to render a yearly account. Churchwardens have no power whatever in regulating the services in the church or chapel. This remains entirely in the hands of the chaplain, subject to the provisions (1) that the general character of the services is not to be changed by individual chaplains, and (2) that an aggrieved person has always the right of appeal to the Bishop on the subject.

* It is not possible to grasp the point of the speaker's words without reference to the "Regulations" of the Societies regarding collections in the season chaplaincies. That of S.P.G. is, "Chaplains are requested to note that (except in special cases by the express vote of the Society) the whole of all the offertories and collections at the Season Chaplaincies is for the Society's Continental Chaplaincies Special Fund." The corresponding regulation of C.C.C.S. is even more stringent, and is regarded as "Private" by the Society. In justice to both Societies it must be remembered that they undertook financial responsibility for the

sole right to dispose of the alms collected in church." No such principle is indeed adducible, nor did any of the representatives of Trustees or Societies who were members of the Conference attempt to adduce one. The Bishop spoke clearly on the subject of "outside collections." Some such collections—for Foreign Missions, for Diocesan work such as the Gibraltar Mission to Seamen and the new Chaplaincies Sustentation Fund, the Sick and Poor, there should always be; "I must hold that the chaplaincy that gives money to no purpose whatever but its own affairs has not learnt the rudiments of the Gospel of Jesus Christ." But with regard to money-collecting campaigns, he declared he would allow no one to make collections in Riviera Churches without his express permission as Bishop (meaning that preaching by deputations with collections in view required his licence); and it may be added that consistently with this he refused in 1908 to sanction a preaching and collecting tour for which his permission was sought by the secretary of a Society.

The whole discussion greatly upheld the right of our congregations through their representatives, the churchwardens, with the chaplains, to control the disposal of the collections, and assured them that in cases of difficulty the Bishop would be ready to give his decision.

chaplaincies, and that in many season chaplaincies the migratory character of the congregation made it difficult to appoint churchwardens.

The present Bishop has not been requested to sanction the "Regulation" of S.P.G., and has declined to sanction that of the C.C.C.S. on several grounds—as being inconsistent with the principle that the congregation shall have a real share in the disposal of their offerings; as calculated to drive the Diocese out of the sight and interest of the congregation; as unnecessary, as the Society collects and holds funds contributed for the purpose of meeting the cost of such ministrations; and on the ground that he cannot authorize as "private" a direction to chaplains to dispose in a certain way of offerings made by the congregation in public worship without consulting them, which he believes is calculated to check generous giving and cause friction and resentment. These "Regulations" therefore have no episcopal sanction in the Diocese.

(2) *The Services of the Church abroad; special conditions of the Diocese*

In considering the discussion concerning *The Services of the Church abroad*, it is to be borne in mind that the need for it arose from the special conditions of the Diocese. These differ largely from those of English parochial life, and demand a real and free exercise of episcopal regulative control. Save at Cannes, Mentone, San Remo, Florence, Rome, Constantinople, and in Malta there is in our chaplaincies but one chaplain and one church for congregations including worshippers of all varieties of Church sympathies, custom, and needs. Conditions of distances, usual local arrangement of life, temperature, hotel life and travel, and the presence of a greater proportion of invalids and elderly persons than in most English congregations, materially affect the ministrations of the clergy. It may be noted also that our services have a special function of witness to members of other Churches to fulfil, which does not rest on services in England to the same degree. And further, the wide extent of the Jurisdiction involves that chaplains frequently find it a slow or difficult matter to obtain the Bishop's advice when in perplexity.

Points such as these were brought forward in the course of the discussion. The most important contribution to it was made by the Rev. C. E. Plumb, then chaplain of St. Paul's, Cannes (now Bishop of St. Andrews). He said that the real difficulty was to justify the casual and unsystematic way in which the religious needs of our brethren abroad were in the past provided for; that our services should be regarded as representative of the Anglican claim to Catholicity,* both in their witness to other Christian

* It will be remembered how frequently previous Bishops of Gibraltar urged this, and how deeply they felt it. In this connexion the words used by Bishop Collins a month before the Conference when (June 4, 1905) he was presented with a Cope and Mitre as a Diocesan gift, may be quoted. He said that he "accepted the gift the more gladly because it was now generally recognized that the wearing of the full episcopal dress was in no sense of the nature of a partisan manifesto, but simply

bodies and in their obligation on our own people ; witnessing, on the one hand, to our desire for the unity of Christendom, and, on the other, to our faithfulness to our own heritage in the Catholic Church. We had acquiesced, no doubt for a time, in a system of pure congregationalism, involving methods which ignored the rightful claims of other Churches, and provided services which appealed only to a few of our own people. But this is no longer so. The corporate responsibility of the Church for our services is recognized by proper authority. Our clergy hold the licence of a Bishop to whom they are responsible. We have no more right than our brethren at home to break or ignore clear and unambiguous directions ; but in all matters of ambiguity we may well ask for the Bishop's guidance as to the limits of our liberty of interpretation, and the applicability of certain rubrics to our work. There certainly are conditions in our work which were never contemplated by the Prayer Book itself, and to which its rubrics cannot apply ; and we clearly need to ask the Bishop to whom we are responsible whether the rubrics in question apply to us at all. Earlier in the Conference Canon Wollaston had entered a protest against "outside hands" attempting to regulate ministrations, and added, "there is always an appeal to the Bishop, who can, if he thinks fit, withdraw his licence, or at any rate remonstrate with a chaplain who has done something unwise or likely to cause offence. But lay control is inadmissible in an episcopal church."

No one was more ready than Bishop Collins to recognize the special conditions of his Diocese. "There is really and truly an exceptional element about a great deal of the work abroad. Extraordinary circumstances require extraordinary

the natural thing to do in distinguished places and on great occasions. And nowhere was it so fitting and right that it should be worn as by the English Bishop in charge of the Anglican congregations in Southern Europe, where it was desirable that we should show our fellowship with the Churches of the countries in which we were living, and make it clear that we claim for our bishops the very same episcopal character that we have always claimed, as well now in the days when there was no breach of communion between the Continental Churches and our own."—*A.C.M.*, 1905, July, p. xiii.

action." In a place (*e.g.*) where all were dissenters and asked for a service, it could not be said to be the primary duty of a chaplain to conform strictly to the liturgical terms of the Prayer Book. But, on the other hand, he knew the obligations resting on the licensed clergy, as subject to the law of the Church, and bound by their oaths and declarations made at Ordination and on receiving their licences. In cases of an exceptional character he laid down that a chaplain would frequently have to act as Ordinary, but as *Ordinary of Church Law*, not as Extraordinary, remembering on his conscience and on his oaths of canonical obedience that he do this faithfully, and that account of it should be given to the Bishop afterwards. With such matters it was his own office as Bishop to deal. They concerned the chaplains and the Bishop, and not any outside body, such as a Society; the directions which such a body might give or views it might hold did not concern the Conference.*

* On many points the Bishop gave directions in cases of exceptional character. The most noteworthy was his dealing with the frequent difficulty of communicating the sick. He sanctioned and authorized (December 10, 1909) the Reservation of the Eucharist for the Communion of the Sick in a small safe to be built into the wall of the Mortuary Chapel adjoining St. Paul's Church at Cannes, to the north side of the Altar: with the proviso that it is to be reserved in both kinds, to be renewed at least once a week at the time of some ordinary Celebration, and to be used for the purpose of the Communion of the Sick solely and exclusively; and further that this Reservation for the Sick is not to be made a pretext for depriving any sick person who shall desire it of a private Celebration, except in extreme cases in which this could not be arranged without grave irregularity.

This is the best place to record the guidance he gave as to the situation created by the passing of the "Deceased Wife's Sister's Act" in 1907. He dealt with this in a Pastoral Letter, "distinguished by its extraordinary acuteness and grasp." After declaring that the Church's law remained unchanged, and setting out the difference in regulations as to marriage in force in different parts of the jurisdiction, he directed the civil chaplains in Gibraltar and Malta, and chaplains in Russia, neither to celebrate such unions nor to suffer them to be celebrated in their churches, and that elsewhere benediction of such unions should neither be given nor allowed in our churches. He then directed that persons civilly married under the provisions of the Act were not to be repelled from Holy Communion on that ground alone; and that all cases were to be reported to the Bishop. Connected herewith was his direction as to

The Rubrical Requirement as to the Number of Communicants.—One such matter in particular was discussed—the rubrical requirement as to the number of communicants. In the discussion Dr. Wickham Legg said, with reference to dispensing with this requirement, “I would venture to think that it is a very important rule indeed that the Eucharist can only be celebrated in an assembly, and that that assembly cannot consist of less than three persons. I believe that when the Church of England put this rule at the end of the Holy Communion Service in the Prayer Book, it was really following the ancient rule, which, I believe, did prevail over the whole of Christendom. Whether it would be possible to dispense in certain circumstances with that rubric is a matter which is not for me to discuss. But I think that before the question is raised, or before it is put before authority whether it should be dispensed or not, the fact that it is, or was the rule all over the Christian world that the Eucharist must be celebrated in an assembly of two at the very least should be put before the conscience of the Church.” On this the Bishop, after endorsing Dr. Legg’s plain statement of the guiding principle in the matter, said, “My own opinion, without any doubt at all, is that the rubric which speaks of four, or three at least, in a parish of only twenty persons [of discretion to receive the Communion], really meant that where a parish contained more there were to be a great many more communicants. I think that that was the idea with which the rubric was made. But, however that may be, there is no question at all about the principle that the Eucharist was intended to be celebrated in an assembly of communicants. But, on the other hand, it does not of necessity mean that every member of the assembly will communicate on that particular occasion. It is not justifiable, if there is an assembly present, and there are two, or even only one who

Banns of Marriage—that the Blessing of marriages should be only after calling of Banns (which is primarily not statutory but canonical) in order to prevent the use of the service of the Church in cases in which it would be unfitting. (The Pastoral is given in *A.C.M.*, 1907, November, pp. xiii. ff. See also *re* Banns, *A.C.M.*, 1909, May, p. xiv.)

is going to communicate, to refuse to celebrate ; especially under the exceptional circumstances with which many of us have to deal. But I wish that more of us would teach our people about Spiritual Communion, and call their attention to the third Rubric at the end of the Office for the Communion of the Sick." *

* The Bishop was requested to give his counsel as to the observance of rubrics to the Riviera Clerical Society in December, 1907. In response he said "that primarily, at any rate, rubrics were not so much a direction to the minister, as a statement of what, as a matter of fact, was done next. They were, really, memoranda for those who had to perform the service. There were rubrics in the ancient liturgies ; but when they were first formulated they were not incorporated into the text, but formed a book by themselves—an *Ordo* or the like. Subsequently they were introduced into the service-books, in the shape of rubrics as we know them. In their origin, then, they were purely explanatory ; the proper way of giving directions being by canon. By degrees they came to have a directive force, and for us they had acquired further importance, inasmuch as, with the Prayer Book, they were imposed by authority, and, again, as a Schedule of an Act of Parliament. When the primitive character of rubrics, however, was borne in mind, it was obvious that some of them could not be observed, not because we desired to be lawless, but because, as a matter of fact, they had ceased to represent the practice of the Church. The test, however, of observance or non-observance must always be, (1) What was really expedient ? (2) What was true to type ? The Bishop then turned to some particular cases. (a) With regard to the number of communicants which would justify a priest in celebrating, he ought not to refuse to proceed with the office if even a single person were present. Hardly anybody, indeed, at the present day observed the rubric in its original sense ; for in visitation articles of the seventeenth century the clergy were sometimes asked whether they required the presence of three or four persons in a parish of twenty, or *more in proportion* ; thus showing that it was intended to secure a really large proportion of parishioners at every Eucharist. But, nevertheless, we should remember that the Eucharist ought to be celebrated in an assembly, and therefore were bound to do our utmost to secure more communicants than one ; or failing that, to secure the presence of others of the faithful to join in worship, even if not communicating. (b) With regard to shortened services, the Shortened Service Act was no justification for many of the abbreviations which were made nowadays, for it referred only to services on week-days, and to *additional* services on Sundays. The great principle to be kept in view was that the abbreviation should be made without mutilating the service in its essential character" (*A.C.M.*, January, 1908, p. 26).

(3) *The Synod of Clergy*

The Conference was followed by a Synod of Clergy holding the Bishop's Licence. The proceedings were private. The Bishop propounded matters on which he wished to consult the clergy, but directed them that they were assembled not to debate, but to vote, and that his action was not bound by their opinion. His "Book dealing with the Synod," preserved in the Bishop's records at Malta, which he mentions in his Register, has disappeared. He states in the Register that certain directions with regard to the admission to the Eucharist of persons not communicants (presumably those issued in 1904: see *infra*, p. 215) were promulgated. It was agreed that it was desirable that the Bishop should make a Dean of Gibraltar, and that it was undesirable that the "Lincoln Judgement" should be officially promulgated as in force within the Diocese. The Bishop was delighted with the Synod. He had held a Synod, and had taught his clergy what the functions of a Synod are.*

The Bishop hoped to hold such Conferences and Synods regularly, but pressure of events and his own ill-health, causing repeated postponement, prevented this—to the great loss of the Diocese. Much as such assemblies are needed in other Dioceses, the range of this Jurisdiction makes them almost imperative with us, for the determination of corporate action, and equally for the heartening and welding together of the whole. The results of the Conference of 1905 were unmistakable. It strengthened the coherence and solidarity of the Diocese, and its spirit of due independence; it drew from the Bishop guidance on many points; it gave clergy and laity together an opportunity of responsible self-expression; it increased confidence in the Bishop and his office as chief Pastor and Ordinary; and it was the foreshadowing of a more complete diocesan administration. The Synod was a testimony to the clergy of the confidence placed in them by the Bishop, and of his sense of the worth of their judgment and counsel.† To any reader who will contrast July 11–14, 1905, with the pictures drawn above of 1842–1873 the growth of the Diocese will be indeed striking.

* *C. Reg.*, 114; *Selwyn College Calendar* (1911), pp. 68 f.

† See *A.C.M.*, 1905, September, p. 123.

CHAPTER XIII

THE EPISCOPATE OF BISHOP COLLINS (*concluded*)

RELATIONS WITH OTHER CHURCHES AND RELIGIOUS BODIES

(1) *The Eastern Churches*

THERE was probably no part of his charge as Bishop of Gibraltar that appealed more to Bishop Collins than the maintenance and furthering of friendly relations with the Churches of the East. It was congenial to his temperament, and he entered into it with zest. His wide learning and adaptability to the demands of the hour enabled him to move in it with a confidence which others less well equipped and self-reliant must perforce envy. The Report for 1910 of the *Eastern Church Association* spoke of him as "an ideal Bishop to represent the Church of England." "We could always feel that in his hands nothing would be done which would in the least compromise the Catholic position of the Church of England, while his grasp of the things essential and his intense sympathy made it possible for him to go a long way in meeting the Eastern Church."

The methods by which friendliness with these Churches is to be advanced do not vary much from decade to decade. The Bishop used them to the full—the interviews with leading Ecclesiastics, presence at services, and the constant exhibition of respect and sympathy. Thus, in October, 1904, he visited the Patriarch Joachim III. at Constantinople, and the Greek Archbishop at Smyrna; in 1906 he visited the Patriarch again and also the Armenian Patriarch, and at Tiflis the Armenian Archbishop and the Georgian Exarch. Of his interview with the Œcumenical Patriarch in 1906 he

has left a full record, which illustrates what can be done at such a meeting. The sufferings of the Greek Christians in Macedonia and affairs in Bulgaria made the times exceedingly anxious for the Patriarch, and he appears to have doubted whether the English Church and people adequately grasped the situation. The Bishop assured him of the reality of the sympathy of English churchpeople, but strove to impress on him that without fuller information it was impossible for the case to be properly appreciated in England, and also that the Church of England could not enter into the political movements connected with the distress. The Bishop, it may here be noted, was well aware that the readiness of the Eastern Churches in non-Christian lands to cultivate friendly relations with the Church of England is not entirely free from motives of political interest. A significant act of friendliness a few days after this visit showed how the presence and work of the Bishop of Gibraltar is regarded in the East. On September 23 the Bishop ordained to the Diaconate, Mr. Charles H. Hughes of Fiume in the Crimean Memorial Church. Both Patriarchs sent their representatives to the service.

(a) **The Bishop's journey to Kurdistan.**—The journey to Kurdistan in 1907 took the Bishop beyond the limits of his jurisdiction, and strengthened the living touch of our Church with Eastern Christendom. In it he visited the aged Catholicos of the Armenians at Etchmiadzin, to whom he bore a letter of introduction from the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Catholicos, aged 87, was even then ill, and died a few days later. He then pressed on through hardship and inclement weather by Van to Qudshanis to see the work of the Archbishop's Mission to the East Syrian Christians. He spent only two days with Mar Shimun and the Mission. But the visit of an English Bishop to the Head of the down-trodden Church which had appealed to the Church of England for help and instruction took to it at the very least a great expression of sympathy and encouragement, and the Bishop himself must have learnt much from it.*

* For the Bishop's account of the journey see *A.C.M.*, 1908, January,

Marash and Ain-tab.—At some later date the Bishop received an appeal for aid in educational matters from Marash and Aintab (N.E. of Alexandretta), and entered into much correspondence on the subject. The case was complicated by the presence of American educational institutions there; and a personal visit was necessary before anything could be seriously planned. This the Bishop was never able to undertake; and indeed the matter lies rather within the care of the English Bishop in Jerusalem and the Mission under his charge. But to Bishop Collins the opening was evidently very attractive. He was also full of sympathy when in 1906 the Œcumenical Patriarch expressed to him the desire that some English students might be sent to prepare for the ministry in the Theological School at Halki, in order that some among us might know the Orthodox Church from within. This led to the residence there of Mr. P. R. B. Brown (later a member of the Archbishop's Mission to the Assyrians), who studied for about a year as the guest of the Patriarch.

(b) **The Lambeth Conference of 1908.**—Behind the Bishop of Gibraltar in all such efforts of reconciliation stands the Church of England. The mind of the Anglican Communion was shown afresh in the Lambeth Conference of 1908. In this, as has been said, Bishop Collins took a leading part; and he was a member of the Committee, of which Bishop Wordsworth was chairman, which considered the subject of Reunion and Intercommunion. The resolutions of the Conference based on the report of that committee are full of significance; and in particular Res. 62 is a practical guide to many in the Diocese, and is the fruit of long labours of the Bishops of Gibraltar with many others. It runs:—

“Res. 62. The Conference is of opinion that it should be the recognized practice of the Churches of our Communion (1) at all times to baptize the children of members of any Church of the Orthodox Eastern Communion in cases of emergency, provided that

pp. 11-23; March, pp. 42-53; May, pp. 75-87; July, pp. 106-116; September, pp. 131-139. This narrative was reprinted, with additions, for private circulation as *Notes of a Journey to Kurdistan*. See also Dr. Mason's *Life*, pp. 100-128.

there is a clear understanding that baptism should not be again administered to those so baptized; (2) at all times to admit members of any Church of the Orthodox Eastern Communion to communicate in our churches, when they are deprived of the ministrations of a priest of their own Communion, provided that (a) they are at that time admissible to Communion in their own Churches, and (b) are not under any disqualification as far as our own rules of discipline are concerned."

(c) **Representative Character and Function of English Clergy and Laity.**—In the accounts here given of the cultivation of closer relations with Eastern Churches the actions of the Bishops of Gibraltar necessarily are prominent. But it must never be forgotten that the maintenance and advance of such intercourse does not rest with Bishops and scholars alone. The English chaplains, mercantile communities, travellers and governesses have a true and great part to play herein; and the more the English Church can minister to her children in South-east Europe and Asia Minor, filling them with her patience, spirit and consideration, and train them in the truth as she has received and holds it, the better will they play it. The slow but penetrative influencing of public knowledge by her own representatives, clerical and lay, is indispensable for bringing the masses of the Eastern Churches into appreciation of the English Church. Bishop Collins was happy in leaving in our chaplaincies at Athens, Smyrna, Constantinople, Odessa, Hughe-sovka, and Baku clergy who realized this; and such realization must be always one great essential in English chaplains in these regions. Without it, indeed, one important field of their duty and interest, though difficult, will be lost to them.

(2) *Relations with the Roman Catholic Church*

(a) **The Lambeth Conference of 1908.**—To the Roman Catholic Churches approach continued difficult. The attitude of the Anglican Church found a definite expression in Resolution 66 of the Lambeth Conference of 1908:—

"The Conference is of opinion that it is of the greatest importance that our representatives abroad, both clerical and lay, whilst holding firmly to our own position, should show all Christian courtesy towards the Churches of the lands in which they reside and towards their ecclesiastical authorities; and that the Chaplains to be selected for work on the continent of Europe and elsewhere should be instructed to show such courtesy."

Bishop Collins himself went a step further than his predecessors in attempting to show this courtesy. "He was unfailing," writes Dr. Mason, "in his respect for the Roman Catholic prelates in whose dioceses he ministered. He called upon them, and explained that his work lay solely among English people, and that the English Church has no desire to proselytise. He seldom failed to obtain a kindly response."* But no striking incident occurred to characterize these years in this respect, save the outbreak of feeling at Barcelona arising from the building and consecration of the English Church (see *supra*, p. 185). The fact cannot be disguised that in the western portion of the Jurisdiction the removal of prejudice and advance in mutual understanding must call for infinite patience, and that the furtherance of understanding must rest largely on the attitude and conduct of local clerical and lay representatives of our Church, as the 66th Resolution of the Lambeth Conference just quoted implies. It will be long, in some quarters, before the prejudices due to connexion of our people with a Protestantism which excites much resentment, but which has never been acknowledged by the Bishopric of Gibraltar, are dispelled; for their roots go deep into the genius of the people, and are connected with questions social and political. These prejudices thus rooted make the attitude of our representatives, clerical and lay, congregations and individuals, towards movements of reform and divers "missions," extremely difficult, and render imperative an unambiguous and whole-hearted loyalty to the Anglican Church on the part of her children. Bishop Collins himself felt the keenest sympathy with all reforming movements, and manifested it towards the Waldensians and the Lusitanians.

* *Life*, p. 77.

He was particularly interested in a reforming congregation at Reggio ; but that congregation perished in the earthquake of December 28, 1908, as well as Mr. Huleatt, chaplain at Messina, who was in some way connected with it. But the exact nature of the connexion of either Mr. Huleatt or the Bishop cannot be stated, as the records disappeared in the cataclysm.

(b) **Reforming Movements in Italy and the Peninsula.**—But during the episcopate of Bishop Collins these movements in Italy and the Peninsula did not occupy the attention of Church-people as in the days of earlier Bishops of Gibraltar. Much of their original energy had passed away. In Italy, if their influence continued to spread as leaven beneath the surface, externally it was less apparent and aggressive, and the lack of leaders was marked. In the Peninsula the Irish Bishops had undertaken a certain directive responsibility, which made more clear, if it could be, the duty of the Bishop of Gibraltar and his clergy to confine their ministrations to prescribed limits. The gradual shrinkage of the Old Catholic movement in Italy, and Bishop Collins' innumerable interests, ever-growing diocesan cares and work, wide travel and failing health combined sensibly to reduce the place which all such movements could claim and fill in his concern as Bishop of Gibraltar.

The great need of cautious patience, and the wisdom and worth of Bishop Sandford's long experience and policy is shown in another Resolution (69) of the Lambeth Conference of 1908, running thus :—

Res. 69. "With a view to the avoidance of further ecclesiastical confusion, the Conference would earnestly deprecate the setting up of a new organized body in regions where a church with apostolic ministry and Catholic doctrine offers religious privileges without the imposition of uncatholic terms of communion, more especially in cases where no difference of language or nationality exists."

(3) *Need of Diocesan, congregational, and individual loyalty to the Church of England, especially in relation to Nonconformists*

In this connexion it is necessary to emphasize the fact that "it is of the greatest importance that our representatives abroad, both clerical and lay," should "hold firmly to our own position," of which Res. 66 of the Lambeth Conference of 1908 (*supra*, p. 212) speaks. The representatives of our Church are not only our resident communities and their churches and chaplains; but equally in western South Europe our sojourners and visitors, both clergy and laity. The most significant way in which these and all can "hold firmly to our own position" is by an open acknowledgment of the obligations as to life and worship which their Church lays on them. They abandon it as significantly by failure to give such witness; and by such abandonment they compromise the Diocese and the chaplaincies which bear the burden of permanent vindication of our position. This is too often forgotten by many Anglican Churchpeople through either a traveller's curiosity or interest in the worship of the Roman Church. At the Conference of 1905 the Rev. C. E. Plumb said, "Our services, and our attendance at them, are a witness of our belief in our own branch of the Church. We may rightly claim to worship with others from time to time under special circumstances; but to be present at a Mass where we are refused communion can never in normal conditions be a substitute for a Eucharist in which we have a right to share, and which is also provided by the care of our own Church. We have a right to complain that clergy and laity abroad so often weaken our hands, and sometimes weaken their own positions, by their actions in this respect. We are not in communion with the Roman Catholic Church in England, and are excommunicate in France or Italy; and arguments which base our Catholicity upon geographical accidents merely are equally fatal to that claim whether at home or abroad." It is not easy for the visitor to South Europe, intent on seeing and learning all he can, and on getting all recreation of mind and body, to grasp how seriously his conduct in this matter may compromise the position of his Church, and make

it difficult for it, through its standing representatives, to claim its proper place as Catholic and Apostolic. There is no way of making that claim understood so effective as the regulation by it of life and worship.

The due maintenance of our own position is an even more delicate matter with regard to bodies of Nonconformists in South Europe. In most of our mercantile communities, both old and new, Nonconformists belonging to various bodies, and in particular Presbyterians, are numerous, and have in several places chapels and zealous and able ministers. It need hardly be said that among visitors and tourists their numbers are proportionate to numbers at home. In many places in Italy, France, and the Peninsula these bodies of Nonconformists are in intercourse with local reforming movements; and this inevitably demands serious consideration on the part of Anglican Churchpeople. In all places in the Jurisdiction—and they are many, from the Atlantic to the Caspian—where Dissenters are without the ministrations of their own ministers, the English Church has striven to serve them with a generous charity. This finds expression in Bishop Collins' Direction, dated from Smyrna, November 15, 1904:—

“The plain rule of the English Church is that ‘there shall be none admitted to the Holy Communion, until such time as he be confirmed, or be ready and desirous to be confirmed.’ In future this rule is to be strictly carried out, so far as members of the English Church are concerned. But it would not be equitable or charitable to repel from Communion those who have been admitted without Confirmation in times past; and my direction is that whilst such persons are to be exhorted to come forward for Confirmation, they are not to be repelled from Communion. As regards persons who are not of our own Church, it is an old and laudable custom that the English chaplaincies abroad should take care, as far as possible, of those who would otherwise be neglected. In pursuance of this custom there have been admitted to the Holy Communion, as guests, such communicant members of other churches or denominations as have no places of

worship of their own to resort to, and would otherwise be left unprovided for. In my judgment the practice should not be interfered with." *

This wise generosity has not failed to win gratitude and appreciation, and has served to show to many the true nature of the Church of England.

At the Conference of 1905 Bishop Collins said that it would not be wrong to pray with any men; and that were he in a place where all were Dissenters, if they asked for a service, he should not hesitate to hold an extemporary service for them; and that under such circumstances he was of opinion that it could not be said to be the primary duty of a chaplain to conform strictly to the liturgical terms of the Prayer Book. But he was careful to add that in some circumstances it might be misleading to worship with Dissenters as it might be misleading to go to Roman Catholic services; and in answer to the question "May I go to Dissenters' Communion?" he replied, "Undoubtedly not. The Church has never set itself to determine the question whether the ministrations of those who have not been episcopally ordained are valid ministrations or not: the Catholic faith does not consist in negations. But we know that we possess the Apostolic ministry, and we have no right whatever to jeopardize that which we have by treating those who have it not as though they have it." And in the face of the Roman claims, and the grandeur and the future of the Anglican Church as "the potential mediator between great communions, the rallying point for different standards of faith," the gravest duty rests on all Anglicans in South Europe to subordinate loyally personal and individual inclinations and impulses and even needs of the moment, in order that that position, especially in South Europe, may not be compromised or obscured in the eyes of critics ready to interpret attendance at Roman Catholic or Nonconformist services as evidence of misgiving as to the claims of their own Church, or of indifference to them or disregard of them.

* *C. Reg.* 32. This Direction, with the addition for clearness of the word *baptized* before *communicant*, has been commended to the observance of all Chaplains by the present Bishop,



A CITY OF SPIRES—AN OIL-FIELD, BAKU, WITH THE CASPIAN SEA BEYOND

THE SPIRE-LIKE WOODEN STRUCTURES ARE EACH ABOVE AN OIL WELL; THE CYLINDER FRINGING UP THE OIL WORKS UP INTO THEM, EACH HAS AN ENGINE-HOUSE ANNEXED

V

CHAPTER XIV

THE DIOCESE OF GIBRALTAR 1911-1914 AND ITS PRESENT WORK AND TASKS

THE fact that the Archbishops of Canterbury with their unrivalled powers of estimating the needs and resources of the Church of England, not only as to means, but as to men, nominated to the Bishopric such men as Bishops Sandford and Collins is some indication of the greatness of the opportunities and functions of the Church in this Diocese. But on the death of Bishop Collins the opinion was openly expressed that a man of his calibre was wasted on the Diocese of Gibraltar, and that one of less exceptional capacity could have sufficed for such a charge. Much the same opinion is widely current as to the clergy needed among us—that the ministrations required can be rendered by faithful clergy, who have already given their best to home or missionary fields, and can find in the Diocese of Gibraltar lighter cures, for which their failing strength or perhaps weak health is adequate, and even that such clergy have a kind of claim on this Jurisdiction. These misconceptions would be impossible if the character of ministry in the Diocese were known. It is hoped that these pages may serve to dispel them, and to bring to the knowledge of the English Church at home the unique responsibility and exhausting if exhilarating work of a colonial diocese which makes the highest demands for spiritual, statesmanlike, and physical qualifications of those who minister in it,

(1) 1911-1914

Before proceeding to summarize the present work and tasks of the Diocese, a few notes must be given of progress made in the short period which elapsed between the death of Bishop Collins and the outbreak of the great War in August, 1914.

(1) The Gibraltar Mission to Seamen was vigorously maintained. Its income for the year 1913-1914 was £2187, of which £476 was received from endowments, and £1711 from subscriptions and donations. The total sum expended on seamen's work in the Diocese was reckoned to be over £5700, £3729 of which sum, about two-thirds, was raised at the ports by the energy of the local committees. The Mission had Institutes connected with it at the following ports: in PORTUGAL, at Oporto; in SPAIN, at Bilbao, Barcelona, Cartagena; in NORTH AFRICA, at Algiers; in FRANCE, at Marseilles, Cannes, and Nice; in ITALY, at Savona, Genoa, and Venice; in SICILY, at Palermo and Catania; in AUSTRO-HUNGARY, at Trieste and Fiume; in GREECE, at the Piræus; in ASIA MINOR, at Smyrna; in ROUMANIA, at Sulina; in RUSSIA, at Odessa. It had also a Missioner for Seamen at Gibraltar; and agents at Livorno, Naples, and Malta. An Institute was on the point of being opened at Valencia; and £2000 was collected for building another at Nicolaieff, where the Russian Government had granted a site. The Bishop had inspected the needs of the great grain port of Novorossisk.

(2) The income of the Chaplaincies Sustentation Fund (now called The Poorer Chaplaincies Aid Fund) for 1913-1914 was £550 (subscriptions and collections, £366; endowments, £173). Aid was given to eight chaplaincies, to itinerating work, especially in the Caucasus, and other objects. The Fund steadily advanced in appreciation, and in particular funds were collected for a chaplaincy at Ferrol, in North-west Spain.

(3) The need of a Diocesan organ was met in 1912 by the issue of the *Gibraltar Diocesan Gazette*. This attained a circulation of 1700 in May, 1914, and had a profit of over £40 each year.

(4) The pressing need of a Diocesan Office and Registry was taken in hand in 1913, and nearly £1000 was collected by June, 1914, for its endowment.

(5) New churches were dedicated at Capri (April 16, 1912), and, the gift of Mrs. W. Christian, Cap d'Antibes (February 10, 1914), and licensed at Viareggio and Stresa.

(6) The number of licensed clergy serving in the Diocese at Easter, 1914, was 106 (Military Chaplains are not included). These served at 51 permanent, and 40 winter or season chaplaincies. (The number of civilian clergy in the Diocese at its formation in 1842 was about 20; see p. 50.)

(7) The Bishop was by the mercy of God and the kindness of innumerable friends, enabled to make three protracted tours before the war, and one of five months in the course of it (total mileage 54,290), in which he visited all the permanent chaplaincies, the great majority of the winter and season chaplaincies, and all colonies numbering ten and upwards in South Russia, the Caucasus, and Spain (save one) of which he knew at the time. He had interviews with the Patriarch Joachim III., the Metropolitan of Kieff, the Archbishops of Smyrna and Odessa, the Bishops of Kharkoff and Tiflis, and the Armenian Bishop of Tiflis.

To these notes may be added: (8) in 1916 the Gibraltar Diocesan Association was started with these ends: (a) to retain the interest and help of those in England who have formerly resided in the Diocese, and enlist that of others in England connected with it; (b) to spread adequate knowledge of the work of the Diocese with the special view of securing suitable clergy, and to seek support for it.

(2) *Present Work and Tasks of the Diocese*

(a) **Maintenance of Relations with the Great Communions.**—Of the great fields of work within the Diocese, and the tasks which face us, a brief notice only is here required for that of *the promotion of mutual knowledge and friendly relations between the Church of England and the historic Churches of the East*. This was one of the primary

ends in the establishment of the Diocese in 1842, and the records here collected show how the Bishops of the See have consistently and diligently striven to fulfil it. It is an end rarely present in the minds of those who speak of the Bishopric. It requires a faith which looks beyond the immediate present for appreciation; and it makes a peculiar demand on the Bishop in particular. Closely akin to this is the task of *keeping a vigilant watch on all that pertains to the internal reformation in the Roman Catholic Churches* in that spirit of profound concern and sympathy yet aloofness of which Bishop Sandford was an exponent. As an observer with peculiar opportunities the Bishop of Gibraltar has a unique responsibility.

But the Bishop's task in East and West alike is shared by the clergy and congregations. It is not yet adequately realized that the Diocese as a whole is representative of the Church of England, and her interpreter to the masses of the peoples and the vast majority of the priests of other Communion. The apologetic (in the proper sense of the word) and reconciliatory literature of agencies working for reunion and mutual understanding touch but a select and cultured few. The "epistle known and read of all men" is that of the life, faith, practice, and worship of our Church and priesthood which is ever before the eyes and apprehension of Orthodox and Roman masses and clergy. It was with reference to this that the late Bishop John Wordsworth said: "The whole of Christ's work (to be done through the agency of the Bishopric of Gibraltar), is of unimaginable breadth. The old Churches amongst which the work of the Bishopric lies are full of wounds and sorrows, of vague movements, desires, and impulses. We are not called to active propagation of reforms, for the leverage of which we have no sufficient fulcrum, and which we have no power of overseeing and directing; we are not called to make converts to our communion—though to many a poor soul it may be a self-sought haven of rest. We are called to maintain a high and strict standard of Church life and Christian conduct among our scattered congregations, to make known our principles and to exhibit them in action, and to show helpfulness and sympathy to all who are willing

to accept our help. Anglican sobriety, without Anglican stiffness and reserve, nay, rather with a Christ-like longing to be of service to all good men and all good causes, is the temper which we should strive to promote, and which the wonderful opportunities (of the Bishopric) will give scope to make effective for the realization of the Kingdom of God." *

(b) **Work in Larger and Settled Mercantile Communities.**—The majority of our settled mercantile communities (of which those in Oporto, Lisbon, Barcelona, Marseilles, Nice, Genoa, Milan, Venice, Naples, Piræus, Smyrna, Constantinople, and Odessa are the best known) have a history, traditions and character of their own, as appears in the earlier pages of this book. In them are families of influence and long standing, attached to the place in which they have their home by both associations and large commercial interests, with a strong family life, and with the hallowed memories which gather round an English burial-ground. Church life and work in these communities approximates more closely to that of a parish in England than in any others of the Diocese. There is a genuine attachment to the Church of England, and a desire that the Church life should be that of a parish at home, and that the chaplain should serve under the laws and customs of an English incumbency. The churches have been built, and the chaplaincies (many of which are furnished with parsonages) maintained for many years by noble and generous service of these families, and a real pride and interest is taken in their maintenance. Everywhere the local needs of the poor meet with remarkably liberal response. Old traditions of local independence, the welcomed presence in the congregations of many Nonconformists, remoteness from the party-spirit of England, and, in the centre and the west, familiarity with and intimate knowledge of Roman Catholicism, make "extreme Church views and practices" unattractive. As current religious literature is not easily accessible, thoughtful and earnest preaching is specially valued. To a faithful and diligent chaplain an extraordinarily

* Sermon at the Consecration of Bishops in St. Paul's Cathedral, St. James' Day, 1911 (*Sermons and Selected Prayers*, p. 260).

warm-hearted welcome and loyal support is given, and there is much appreciation of pastoral visitation, a duty which, owing to the distances over which the families are scattered, occupies much time. There are generally children to be taught, and candidates for Confirmation to be prepared, and the limited number of these gives scope for individual care. In some colonies there are British Schools to which a wise chaplain can have access, and in which he can either lay a foundation of Church religious teaching, or by his influence encourage or promote it. The spiritual future of the colonies depends largely on the Chaplains' zealous and individualizing use of such opportunities. In all these colonies, excepting Nice, where there is an American Church, we have the privilege of ministering also to Americans.

Besides these resident families there are usually three other classes which need specialized ministration, and add to the variety and interest of the chaplain's work. (a) *English Clerks*. These men, usually unmarried, demand the most constant and wise pastoral care. They need to be sought out, and kept in or drawn into the life and grace of the Church in the face of innumerable temptations to which irreligion, a low moral standard, materialism, and frequently loneliness and the absence of wholesome home restraint expose them. (b) *English Governesses*, either in the employ of private families, or earning their livelihood by teaching English; and English maids and nurses. These women (see *supra*, p. 144) have the greatest possible claim on the helpfulness, advice and warning of the chaplains. (c) *British Seamen*. In most of these communities there is an Institute, the pastoral care and general supervision of which (under the G.M.S) is in the hands of the chaplain. This makes considerable demands on his evening hours. It is a charge full of scope for forming friendships with a peculiarly fine type of men, the officers and engineers of our mercantile service. Many of these colonies maintain British hospitals, in which seamen form the majority of the patients; and in these regular ministrations should be a matter of conscience. The upholding of the spirits, and the spiritual life, of the Manager of the Institute and his wife, and of the nurses in the

Hospital, is one of the duties of chaplains, and the due maintenance of the spiritual element in diocesan work among British Seamen must be chiefly dependent on them. In all this work the chaplains are brought into close touch with our Consuls-General, Consuls and Vice-Consuls (and in particular in dealing with distressed travellers and the sick), with whom they can co-operate, and from whom they receive most valuable help.

Chaplains in these colonies ought to be able to devote substantial time to study; and the fact that now many of the residents visit England regularly, and so are able to "feel" the movements of religious life and thought at home, and that the level of intelligent and capable interest is really high, make such study of importance. If social questions in their congregations are less to the fore than in England, the duty of teaching mercantile righteousness is ever present, and calls for studied preparation. The cultivation of a right spirit towards the Churches of the land, and ministerial conduct based on it, demands the wisest effort of chaplains.

There are in all these communities certain ends to be specially sought. (1) The enlisting of Churchmen (communicants), who command the respect and confidence of the congregations, to serve as Lay-Readers, prepared to hold service during the absence of the chaplain. (2) The creation and fostering of the sense of obligation to share the ministration of the chaplain with outlying smaller bodies of English regularly, and specially on Sundays, in generous recollection that *it is more blessed to give than to receive*. Indeed, it should be the ambition of each of these chaplaincies to be the centre of spiritual life in a wide area, and to regard scattered groups and families as entrusted to its care. (3) The strengthening of the spirit of diocesan life, and the widening of Church outlook and concern.

The maintenance of some of these chaplaincies has been rendered, in recent years, more difficult by shrinkage in numbers, and fluctuations of trade. Few have any endowments. But the faithful chaplain need never fear failure of generous support from his flock, and such diocesan help as

the Poorer Chaplaincies Aid Fund can give. The G.M.S. endeavours to remunerate chaplains for their work among seamen. The chaplain's income ought to be sufficient for due support of home and family, the education of children, for regular holidays (which ministerial solitariness, and the peculiar strain which life in Southern Europe and the Near East lays upon physical and spiritual energy, make most necessary), and provision for old age. It may be said here that it is most desirable that the chaplains in these colonies should be married, and that great opportunities of usefulness and love present themselves to a Christian lady in these parsonages.

It will be seen how varied is the Church's work in this field. These colonies, as embodiments of English corporate religious mercantile and social life, call for systematic, vigorous, patient, cheerful and missionary service. The chaplains fill a large place in them, and are under the constant observation of the clergy of other Churches: our Church is largely known and judged by them. It may be noted that on this ground, but not on this alone, the maintenance of the daily offices is important.

(c) **Ministration to Scattered Mercantile Communities.**—Beside the larger settled colonies of long standing there are many smaller bodies of our people in Spain, Italy, N. Africa, Greece, Roumania, South Russia and the Caucasus, of which few in England know, and whose spiritual condition can be spoken of only as starvation. They range in size and means from communities which formerly were large enough with some outside aid to maintain a chaplain and a few which can still do so for a part of the year to many so small and remote that they are for long periods altogether unvisited and untended. Our people in them are for the most part connected with businesses and commercial enterprises which have their seats in England. In few cases do the principals reside on the spot. They consist of managers, engineers, surveyors, clerks, book-keepers, and accountants; many are married; and there are many governesses. There are very few artisans. Many are Scotch Presbyterians. A considerable portion are drawn

SPAIN.		Number of Colony.	Engaged in	Railway mileage from nearest permanent chaplaincy.
(1) N. and N.-W....	Astillero and Santander	30	Iron ore	90 from Bilbao.
	Covadonga	10	"	350 from Bilbao.
	Gihon	?	"	250 from Bilbao.
	Ferrol	120	Naval construction	550 from Bilbao or Madrid.
	Corunna	12	Trade...	"
	Vigo	30	East. Tel. Co.	150 from Oporto.
	Linares	30	Smelting works	200 from Madrid.
	El Centenillo	30	Lead and silver	268 from Madrid.
	Cerro Muriano	40	Copper	"
	Valdemusa	10	Copper and sulphur	"
	Tharsis	45	"	Huelva.
	Valverde	14	Alkali	"
(2) In Mines round Cordoba ..	Agulias	40	Esparto grass and ore export	595 from Barcelona, 445 from Madrid.
	Cartagena	100	Naval works and ore export	475 "
	Alicante	20	Salt fish	355 "
	Valencia	40	Fruit export	230 "
	St. Domingos	—	Copper	200 " Lisbon.
(3) In Mines near Huelva ..	Kieff...	50-60	Trade and teaching...	350 " Odessa.
	Kharkoff	30	Agricultural machinery	" "
	Elizabetgrad	20	"	" "
	Nicolaiett	40-50	Naval construction	90 " "
	Taganrog	20	Grain export	111 " Hughesovka.
	Rostoff	25	Trade	160 " "
	Tchertkovo...	8	Cold storage...	360 " "
	Novorossisk	—	Seamen	900 " Baku.
	Ekaterinodar	12	Maikop Oil Company	780 " "
	Anapa	9	Oil	950 " "
	Sherivanski...	30	Maikop Oil Company	870 " "
	Grozny	30	Oil	325 " "
(2) The Caucasus	Petrovsk	?	"	525 " "
	Vladikavkaz	?	"	475 " "
	Elizabetpol...	20	Liquorice	225 " "
	Tiflis	15	Trade	345 " "
	Chiaturi	8	Manganese	455 " "
	Chingathevi	83	Copper	593 " "
(1) S. Russia	...	...	...	...
	...	...	...	...
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from Northern England. Speaking generally, these colonies are marked by great capacity, individuality, energy, cheerfulness, and self-reliance; many individuals among them by adventuresomeness; and all by a power of self-adaptation to conditions of life and labour abroad. Some idea of the size and varied occupations of these colonies may be drawn from the table on page 225 of those known to the present Bishop in Spain, South Russia, and the Caucasus. The great distances separating them from the nearest permanent chaplaincies should be noted.

In Roumania, beside the resident mercantile community at Bucarest to whom the L.J.S. Missionary in charge has ministered for many years as well as he can consistently with most devoted labour to his special work, there are shipping communities at Braila, Galatz and Sulina, at which ports, especially at Sulina, there are, for parts of the year, great numbers of British seamen. At Sulina there is a considerable English staff connected with the Danube Commission. At this port, beside a Seamen's Institute, there is a consecrated English church; but all attempts to maintain a chaplaincy have been of short duration, and since 1907 there has been no chaplain to serve it. Scattered about Roumania are many English engaged in the oil-fields and cotton. To serve all these communities aright is altogether beyond the capacity of one missionary who can devote to work outside that of the L.J.S. only one-third of his time.

Other such communities are those in Greece, Sicily, and North Africa.

Despite attempts made to minister to these colonies since Bishop Harris realized their presence and needs, the real attention of the Diocese or of the Church at home has not yet been arrested, and nothing effective has been done. An annual, half-yearly, or even quarterly brief "visit" by a chaplain—and even that frequently by force of circumstances foregone—is utterly inadequate. Without regular ministrations of grace occasional indifference cannot surprise. But in practically all there is a hunger and thirst for the ministrations of the Church, a very real interest in religion,

and an appreciation of even the crumbs which irregularly fall to them, which is most moving and humbling. In some cases there are godly laymen who hold services, and are known to be ready to baptize, to bury the dead, and even to prepare for confirmation. But the nature of the occupation of most of the men, which is engineering in various forms, makes their holding of services extremely difficult ; for it continues, as a rule, on Sunday, and consequently they cannot be sure of being free at or for fixed hours.

In some places all effort to hold services has been for years definitely abandoned. In others some few of our people have joined themselves to small bodies of Nonconformists who meet for worship, or have availed themselves of services of local reforming movements. Very few become Roman Catholics. In the majority of perversions marriage has been the cause.

The calibre and importance of these colonies is out of all proportion to their numbers. Just because the numbers are small, their members are more individually under the notice of the people and Churches of the land. The neglect of them by the Church of England cannot fail to have been observed ; it cannot be doubted that the Turkish taunt of 1850, "The English have no Church, no Priest, no Religion" (*vide supra*, p. 58), if it has died at Constantinople, lives elsewhere. They represent in every case English character and honour, English faith and religion, English homes and morals, English energy, trade, and integrity. They do so nobly, men and women alike. But without the guardian care and teaching of the Church they are exposed to grave peril of loss of spiritual life and interest ; of materialism ; of assimilation to current local moral standards ; of thoughtless mixed marriage, which frequently (in the West) involves perversion to Roman Catholicism, the surrender of the children to the Roman Church, and to much distress in the long run ; and of the spiritual and religious ignorance of the children.

These colonies are most generous and hospitable. But by no practicable grouping for itinerating chaplaincies can they provide adequate stipends for chaplains. In the

judgment of the present Bishop district chaplains are required, working on the lines indicated earlier in this book (*supra*, pp. 143 f.). These ought to be furnished by the Diocese as a whole, as Diocesan Missioners, the congregations contributing as they can to the Poorer Chaplaincies Aid Fund, which should be responsible for the stipends. This fund should be immensely strengthened, and so this reproach on the Church and Diocese removed. It is the immediate great pastoral task of the Diocese. It cannot be met by the fund named at once, and we may rightly look for adequate help from England; for all these colonies come from English homes, and most of the profit of their labour goes to English shareholders. The work will be so exhausting to both body and spirit that it will demand men of missionary ardour, physical strength, and robust godliness, and it will probably be advisable that it should be undertaken for a term of years—three or five. It is needless to add that it will afford endless scope for learning from within the life of the country and its Church in the midst of which such a chaplaincy lies. In the hope that these pages may attract the generous help of some who live in the wealth of spiritual life and means of grace in England, who have close at hand more services than they can attend, more teaching than they can assimilate, provided for them in large measure by their ancestors, it may be stated that we need *five* such district chaplains at least, and that it is estimated that for travelling and maintenance a stipend for each of £350 to £400 is required. *So labouring, ye ought to help the weak, and to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how He Himself said, It is more blessed to give than to receive.*

(d) Work among British Seamen in the Mediterranean and Levant and the Black Sea.—The growth and activity of the Gibraltar Mission to Seamen carried on through the agency of Institutes, managers, local committees and chaplains has been sufficiently described in preceding pages. But the extension of this work still remains one of the great tasks of the Diocese. Great development is needed in many directions.

1. There are yet many ports, and some frequented regularly by large numbers of British seamen, in which

nothing whatever is done, and in which the men are exposed to the most severe temptations. It is hoped that after the war we may be able to proceed with the erection of an institute at NICOLAIEFF, for which £2000 is in hand, and for which a site was given by the Russian Government. An Institute is most urgently called for at NOVOROSSISK, a great grain port south of the Sea of Azov, which thousands of seamen visit during the winter, and where there is no local resident British colony to care for them. Others are needed in the ports of Lisbon, Seville, Messina, and at Syra; and ministrations to seamen are required in many ports in which there is scarcely sufficient constant work for a fully equipped Institute, such as Catania, Malaga, Alicante, Patras, and several ports in the Black Sea. In some ports the Seamen's Room hitherto maintained ought to be replaced by a fully equipped Institute, as at the Piræus and Smyrna. At Cartagena and Valencia local effort needs fostering encouragement. At MARSEILLES we have quite failed so far to secure a really suitable site or building for an Institute, and until this is done, seamen's work in that great port can never be adequate. Probably after the war other openings and demands will appear. It is clear that for such development a greatly increased income is indispensable.

2. But an increased income is required in other directions than the maintenance of Institutes, especially in ports in which visible returns or local contributions may seem small. (a) It is required in particular for the better remuneration of the Managers, who with their wives—and it must be recognized that married managers are necessary—render conspicuously faithful and cheerful service. These receive as yet salaries which are quite inadequate for maintenance, education of children, and making provision for the future. (b) A larger supply of trained managers is required. The supply of these has been of late years inadequate, owing largely to smallness of remuneration. Everywhere they should be British subjects. (c) An "Emergency Manager" is needed to take charge of vacancies and to relieve managers for holidays; for the nature of their work and conditions of life make it necessary that all managers and their wives

should have regular and real holidays, long enough to enable them to re-visit England, and maintain touch with homes and relatives. (d) An expert Diocesan Inspector of Institutes and Visitor of ports is required. Such an inspector with intimate knowledge of all branches of seamen's work and its methods, would greatly hearten and direct managers and local committees in their routine work; and would examine fresh needs and local resources. At present such inspecting and reporting work falls on the Bishop, who is not an expert.

The presence of this work requires a special type of clergy in the ports. To many it seems that "work among British seamen" is predominantly philanthropic and recreational, and that all that is openly religious and spiritual, and especially all direct Church of England ministry is neither demanded nor acceptable. This is a misconception based on ignorance. All who know Institutes and seamen's life know that wise, masculine, and sympathetic religious ministration is welcomed by many, expected and needed by all. While writing-rooms, billiard tables, newspapers, and beds for convalescent sailors are indispensable, a chapel is equally indispensable in all Institutes, even when the church is hard at hand (which is not often the case), and especially in ports where there is no English Church. It follows that the religious work of the managers, who ought to be licensed lay-readers in every case, demands the steady support and supervision of chaplains, able and fitted not only to supervise the whole work of the Institute, but also to take an actual and effective share in all done ashore and afloat, and to use the opportunities presented of ministerial influence. Though seamen are indeed migratory, they migrate regularly; the men and officers return, in many cases with regularity, to the same ports. They are indeed floating parishes; the Institutes' chapels are almost so many parish churches; and the peculiar perils and temptations of seafaring life render seamen particularly appreciative of unaffected and direct spiritual help. The evidence of this is overwhelming and decisive.

Seamen's work in our ports offers a fine field for women's activity. There is no safeguard against temptation to

uncleanness, no means of keeping fresh and strong the attachment to home, and none of maintaining the Christian standard of manly respect for womanhood, to be compared with the presence in an Institute of a bright and warm-hearted English woman. It is here that the great usefulness of the manager's wife is felt. At Bilbao the experiment of a lady manager, with an assistant, backed up by the very active daily help of the chaplain, has been tried with considerable success. In all ports a lady seeking Church work, who is strong, possessed of gifts of entertainment, endowed with robust common sense, would find most blessed usefulness. It must be stated that at present the G.M.S. has no prospect of being able to pay such labourers. Such a lady would be exceedingly serviceable as a centre and organizer of local interest and help.

Lastly, it is to be noted that a revival of the interest and support of shipping firms in England whose vessels run regularly to our ports, is greatly to be desired. It has not, for many years, been diligently sought. It is clearly to the interest of every firm that while in port the men should be kept sober and pure. If a Diocesan Inspector of seamen's work could be provided, it might be part of his duty to bring the matter before the consideration of the firms concerned.

(e) **Work in Chaplaincies and Season Communities in the Riviera, Italy, Sicily, North Africa, and the Peninsula.**—The rise of such communities of English in search of health, sunshine, and recreation, or studying art and music has been already mentioned (*supra*, p. 33). The number has steadily grown. Many of their chaplaincies have now attained due independence, and are self-supporting. Others are at the stage of having churches, but are not yet quite able entirely to maintain chaplaincies. Others are assemblages of visitors or tourists for only a brief season, and have not yet a church. These are for the most part served through the agency of either S.P.G. or C.C.S.

In almost all, in varying numbers, there are settled English families, which are the back-bone of the chaplaincies, and to whom the maintenance and usefulness of the churches owes a great debt. In recent years such English homes have

tended to shrink in number as the range of holiday and health resorts has widened, and the advent of the motor-car has made touring easier. Accordingly, the "bird of passage" element in these colonies, lacking attachment to places and churches, has greatly increased.

The work of the Church in this field is of an exacting and a unique character. The idea that it can be adequately done by tired or delicate clergy is, with very few exceptions, most misleading. Certain features in it make it spiritually exacting, and call for constant ministerial alertness. To minister to a flock living in unsettled and artificial conditions, without the wholesome regular occupation of life, separated from home and children, of a fluctuating and migratory character, on one side; on another, the amount of ill-health, anxiety, grief, bereavement, which escapes the notice of those who have eyes and minds only for landscape or art, and the amusements and gaiety of the hour, but which ever grows in volume as years of residence and work reveal what is often bravely and studiously concealed, make great demands on ministerial patience and nerves. When the resorts are full, the number of services on Sundays, and especially on great Festivals and holy Seasons, and the ministrations called for during the week, demand not only spiritual energy, but also real physical strength in many chaplaincies. The atmosphere of pleasure-seeking, and of much thoughtless and selfish worldliness, and the casting off of conventional restraints especially in regard to the observance of Sunday, and the ever-present gambling problem, tax the spiritual standard of life and Christian faithfulness and wisdom.

But the ministry of the Church here, if exacting, has its joys and unique opportunities. Everywhere there is a nucleus of residents and of visitors who return year by year, who live a quiet regular life, are attached to the place, value the Church and its privileges, and generously support and assist all connected with it.* "Open doors" abound for the chaplain who is on duty in season and out of season. The congregations consist of the more educated classes, highly

* The support of the G.M.S. by the maturer chaplaincies has been very remarkable.

appreciative of careful ministrations, and especially of thoughtful and earnest preaching. It need scarcely be said that "a fresh voice" has an opportunity of its own. The greatest gratitude is shown for private ministrations by those in sickness or weak health. There are many opportunities of forming fresh friendships, and of exchange of spiritual experience; of encouraging and establishing the highest ideals, and of vindicating and maintaining the highest standards of thought and conduct. In all congregations there are those who are spiritually as well as physically wearied, to whom no greater blessing can be given than a season of refreshing from the presence of the Lord for spirit as well as for mind or body. It is a great mistake to imagine that all who appear to be indifferent to religion or wholly given to pleasure are really such; indeed many who are apparently most so are peculiarly susceptible of spiritual help and influence when apart from home conventionalities and the pressure of ordinary business. It is always possible that those whom the chaplain meets may never before have been in personal touch with a clergyman of the Church of England, and much may depend on his bearing and his words. Many who when at home shrink from "religious confidences" with clergy who are constantly about their path are ready to open their hearts to one who attracts by bearing or teaching, and can show that he himself has an open heart; and this is specially (but far indeed from exclusively) true of those in anxiety and grief. The careful and unhurried maintenance of the daily offices, beside being precious to many, and of particular help to those staying in hotels and pensions, and serving the clergy by providing a framework of the ministerial life, is peculiarly valuable as affording a means of showing that the chaplain is ever quietly on duty, and as a witness to all that our clergy live an ordered life. The difficulty which many living in hotels find in securing a place for prayer makes it a chaplain's duty to see that all English churches are kept open, if not for the whole, at least for parts of the day, and that in places where there is no church, but a room in a hotel is reserved for our services, it is available if possible for some time in the day, and also to

encourage such use of church and room by personal example and advice. In one point in particular a chaplain can often serve Church life at home. He is frequently the recipient of confidences as to stumbling-blocks which have caused offence ; and he can by patient hearing and sympathetic counsel direct a really distressed spirit to consideration, or charity or understanding, and dispose the mind to return with the desire to make a fresh start.

In a very marked way these Chaplaincies and their clergy stand for the claims and obligations of spiritual life, for the sanctification of recreation and its need of divine blessing. The Chaplain is never off duty, not even in hours of recreation ; and is especially on duty when living in a hotel for a while. The idea that in many chaplaincies "Sunday duty only" is required is a complete misconception, and those who entertain it ought not to undertake such service.

The character of our services in these chaplaincies demands special consideration. The congregation will always include Churchpeople of all types and tastes, and in the great majority also devout Nonconformists. The chaplains are called to be, in the words of the present Bishop of St. Andrews at the Conference of 1905, "less individual and more comprehensive in their aims, recognizing the spiritual needs of not merely a section, but of all loyal English Churchpeople within their spheres of influence." "Our services"—to continue his words—"ought to be of such a type that the average Churchman can share in them intelligently and heartily, and the type ought to be larger than any mere section of the congregation. Even where there is more than one church there are many who, from considerations of health and distance, are compelled to attend the nearest church, and it ought to be possible for them to do this without too violent a change from their accustomed services. No one expects to find things abroad exactly as they are in their own parishes, nor indeed would it be desirable in many cases ; but neither can it be expected that in the course of a short residence abroad people should learn what seem to them entirely new ideals of worship. It is far easier than is ordinarily supposed to represent the comprehensiveness of the Church of England by a certain diversity

of services, if we keep in view the needs of Churchmen and women of different types. Everybody, except a few impossible individuals, is prepared to give way a little under our conditions, if he feels that his convictions and prejudices have been at least considered. We have special opportunities of promoting unity among different schools of thought of our own Church by the necessities of common worship, and of breaking down some of the narrowness of our parochialism at home. People become extraordinarily more liberal in these matters when away from home, and we should take advantage of it by keeping our eye upon the whole rather than upon a section of our people." It is of special service to both chaplains and congregation to be lifted for awhile above and beyond the thralldom of a particular type of worship, and to know the blessedness of consideration for others. There need be no sacrifice of principle or of complete loyalty to our Church in a generous avoidance of what is known to hurt the great central body of "sober, peaceable, and truly conscientious sons of the Church of England."

The supply of suitable clergy and provision of churches and of acceptable services is not the whole of the task of the Diocese with regard to these chaplaincies. The growth to maturity of the Diocese has brought on it the task of considering their maintenance and regulation.

In spite of much generosity, both of money and of devoted service, especially from the more settled elements of the communities, the financial maintenance of many is difficult. Frequently the clergy are not only inadequately paid, but the salary varies considerably from year to year. The increase of movement from place to place has lessened in visitors the sense of the duty of maintaining ministrations and a church of which they avail themselves; and as in the time of Bishop Sandford, the smallness of offerings at collections often saddens and perplexes. In the earlier and more prosperous days of many chaplaincies little foresight was shown. Church and Chaplaincy Maintenance Funds, which would have been a standing focus of affection, and of infinite service now, were not formed. Many chaplaincies were so

closely connected with the great Societies that they grew to look on them as their reserve funds, and the Societies did not regulate the chaplaincies with a view to their future independence and responsibility. In the case of the more affluent, the surplus receipts went to swell the Societies' General Continental Chaplaincies Funds. Thus many to-day are without the reserve and emergency funds which they ought to have accumulated.

The action of the Societies is not to be hardly judged. They undertook financial responsibility when the Diocese was unorganized as a whole, and the Bishop's attention engrossed in other directions, and at a stage when it was difficult to find any one else to do so. And still in many "season" chaplaincies it is occasionally difficult to find churchwardens, and harder still to secure a committee able and willing to undertake financial responsibility. It has doubtless been difficult for the Societies, intent on developing their activities and range, and devoting much labour to this field, to observe the growing strength of corporate diocesan life in the Jurisdiction, and easy to regard chaplaincies as in some sense "their own" rather than as a part of a Diocese and its life. How representatives of the Diocese viewed the matter may be gathered from the records of the Conference of 1905 (*supra*, p. 200). The operation of the regulations as to season chaplaincies which have been already referred to (p. 200 n.) has been to keep the Diocese out of the sight and hearing of the congregations. Visitors have come and worshipped and returned to England with the idea that they have been under the pastoral care of a Society rather than that they have been for a time sojourners in a Diocese with great and wide work and needs and with a real claim on their generous support. Chaplains have ministered without a thought of the Diocese, and looked to the Society presenting them for licence as an Ordinary in commission. And indeed the idea that these chaplaincies "belong to" home Societies with ample funds for their support, disposing arbitrarily of all their alms, and the weariness arising from monotonously reiterated appeals for those Societies accounts in some measure for the smallness of collections; and it

has to be said that generosity has been impaired by the party-character of some chaplaincies and the type of service.

It is clearly damaging to the integrity and effectiveness of our diocesan life that any such class of our congregations should permanently form a water-tight compartment, either as to finance or general control, connected with and looking to a Society rather than to the Diocese as the body corporate to which it belongs, to which it owes its loyalty and which claims its contribution to its welfare. There is no reason why these chaplaincies should not be as fully a part of diocesan concern and responsibility as the care for British seamen or of smaller scattered mercantile communities ; and all Churchmen must desire the realization of this ideal. The experience of the G.M.S. has shown both that the Diocese can do its duty when it is seen and is called to it, and how great is the gain of its undertaking to do it. And few can doubt that were the full variety of our diocesan life put before these congregations (including their own support), the freshness, the range, and the interest of the call, which is quite distinct from the calls heard at home, would secure a much more generous response from all Churchpeople than is now usually accorded to the support of the Continental Chaplaincies Funds of the Societies. It ought to be possible in time to effect this in accordance with the developed maturity of the Diocese ; and with all due gratitude to the Societies for their fostering care, and without forfeiting our claim as a Colonial Diocese to their aid when required for our diocesan work, for which they have received and hold funds, to incorporate these chaplaincies into the full diocesan life and system.

(f) Revival of Concern for Foreign Missions.—

Great as are the tasks before the Diocese which have been touched on already, and important for its effective working as are two yet to be noticed, there is one in which we cannot say that even a start has been made, and which yet is absolutely essential to the Diocese as a living Diocese of the living Church—the task of taking, as a Diocese, a share in the extension of the Kingdom of Christ.

The Church of Christ, and every Diocese within it, exists

not solely for the retaining and building up in the faith of those who are already baptized Christians. It is the body of Christ, sharing His life and mind, and, as His body, the executant of the purpose of the Head. That purpose is to bring the whole world to God through Himself in the power of the Spirit, to live in the life of the Church. And every part of the Holy Catholic Apostolic Church, every Diocese, congregation, and individual, lacks the fullness of the life of Christ and leads a maimed life until this duty and function is recognized and undertaken. Unless the will of the member is fully responsive to the mind of Christ, and cherishes a love and a purpose as wide as His, membership is defective.

This Diocese has been (and is in a small degree) the field and the hope of missionary enterprise. We live and work, worship and trade, in close contact with the Mohammedan and Jewish world. There was beyond doubt a spark of missionary spirit in the earliest British mercantile expansion which has been noted in earlier pages (*supra*, pp. 9 ff.). From 1811-1878 the Church Missionary Society worked in Malta, the Levant, Constantinople, and Asia Minor. All its operations within our limits have now ceased. Our own noble Crimean Memorial Church was without any question intended originally to be the centre of a mission to Islam. All effort to realize that hope has died away; the causes leading to this have been touched on (*supra*, pp. 59 ff., 70, 87). The attempt of Mr. Bagdon in 1869 to start a mission to the Moors in North Africa was unknown to the Diocese, and was all too shortlived. The London Jews Society began its work within our limits in Smyrna in 1829, and now labours vigorously on a considerable scale at Smyrna, Constantinople, Bucarest, and Tunis, and on a modest scale elsewhere. There is now in the whole Diocese no other work of the Church, and there is no truly Diocesan work at all, in the non-Christian population about us. We are daily shamed by the devoted labour of independent missions and Christians in North Africa.

It is happily true that many among us, both clergy and

laity, really care for the Foreign Missions of the Church. This is shown by the fact that in several congregations collections are made for S.P.G., C.M.S., U.M.C.A., and for some particular missions, and subscriptions given to them; and such local and sporadic concern may be the seed of something diocesan. But we do nothing as a Diocese: the furtherance of Foreign Missions is not a part of our diocesan programme. It is altogether a defect among us.

It is not hard to *account* for this. The cause of missions has not been insistently and constantly put before the Diocese as a part of its life, accompanied by adequate information. We have lived, and still live, in a constant struggle to meet the needs of our own people, our scattered colonies, the seamen frequenting our ports, the "season visitors," and to maintain our chaplaincies. Political considerations and commercial interests have made direct mission work among Mohammedans most difficult, and at times impossible. It cannot be said that the Jews excite, as they ought, the religious compassion, or attract the religious interest of our people. Familiarity with the presence of non-Christians about us has led us to acquiesce in their remaining non-Christians. We have said, "There are Missionary Societies in England, and this is their work."

But though all this accounts for our defect, it does not *justify* it. The fact remains that as a Diocese of the Church we bear the obligation, and ought to claim the life and joy of direct participation in the extension of the Church. We have, as a Diocese, no real living share in the work of the L.J.S., save through the person of the Bishop, who licenses clergy employed by the society, sanctions adult baptisms, confirms converts, and has the privilege of visiting the scenes of work. But though a Vice-Patron of the Society, he has no direct share in its operations (save as described) within the Jurisdiction, and has not even been invited to be a member of the committee directing this work of the Church in Europe. It is true that at each centre some friendly support is given to the local work, and that the present Bishop has done all he can to bring the converts into the life of our local Church and communion with it. But it must be

plainly confessed that though as a Diocese we pray, at least each Good Friday, for Jews and Mohammedans, that the Divine mercy may rest upon them, and that they may be brought into the flock of Christ to form with us one flock under one Shepherd, there has been no *Diocesan* action answering to the prayer.

This great and vitalizing task is therefore before us : to make missionary extension and aggressiveness an essential element in diocesan life. We need it, to deepen unselfishness ; to widen our outlook as Church-people ; to lift our eyes beyond the local needs of a chaplaincy, even beyond the range of our wide-flung Diocese ; to touch us with the width of the compassion of Christ, the hope inspired by His work in the past, and His purpose for the future. We have some seeds sown. We need a Diocesan Committee for Foreign Missions which shall not only spread information, and urge the duty of prayer and of giving, but shall also consider whether it is possible for us, as a Diocese, to undertake responsibility for some direct share in the aggressive and extensive life of the Church ; and it is always possible that change in matters of politics may present a field for this within our own Jurisdiction, even at our own doors.

(g) **Provision of a Central Diocesan Registry and Office.**—A central Registry and Office has now become absolutely necessary for carrying on the work of the Diocese, and relieving the Bishop of a mass of clerical and routine labour. The Diocese has already suffered beyond words from the want of this. No continuous reliable official record of the years 1842-1873 has been preserved : such records as have survived are too fragmentary to be of practical service ; and were it not for the pages of the *Colonial Church Chronicle* those years of diocesan history would be almost a blank. Many Deeds of Consecration have disappeared. For Bishop Sandford's episcopate his Pastoral Letters, the Reports of the G.M.S., and the *Anglican Church Magazine* are invaluable ; but their records are not detailed, formal, or official documents. The Returns to the Letters of Inquiry of 1876 and 1891 have perished. On Bishop Collins' death his invaluable Register was the only continuous

official record of episcopal acts. The loss of official record of precedents (*e.g.* as to marriage and property) and of diocesan experience has added unspeakably to the labour of the See whenever questions as to the past arise, and it can only be made good to some limited degree in the future by toilsome investigation of such records as remain in particular chaplaincies.

But any one who realizes the variety of diocesan life at the present time will see at once that it involves far more purely clerical work than was dreamt of before 1873 or even 1903. The constant search for suitable clergy for so many and so different chaplaincies, the giving of advice in questions which are frequently recurrent, the need of a permanent centre of information, of a receiving office and administrative centre for diocesan funds, renders an office indispensable. It is clearly impossible for a Bishop who must for a considerable part of the year be moving from place to place within the wide limits of the Jurisdiction to carry on satisfactorily and promptly at the same time the general work and correspondence of the Diocese, much of which could be adequately dealt with by a capable permanent secretary in Holy Orders. Such work is now too much in bulk and too intricate to be wisely left to unpaid and frequently changing Commissaries. Not only does the attempt to carry it on place an undue tax on the Bishop while touring, but if he returns to England to be confronted with arrears and to find it impossible for years in succession to obtain any respite from the daily strain, his energies both spiritual and physical must be impoverished. When he vacates the Bishopric his successor must personally take over all papers, documents, and records, and try to master their details, the lines of diocesan work, policies and ends pursued, a task which grows heavier with the systematic administration of the Diocese. Unless continuity in administration is secured by an Office, each vacancy of the See involves long dislocation and break while the new Bishop is learning the past. In a word, if the organized work of this Diocese is to be effectively carried on, and the spiritual and directive office of the Bishop is to be used to the full, a central Registry and Office is a necessity.

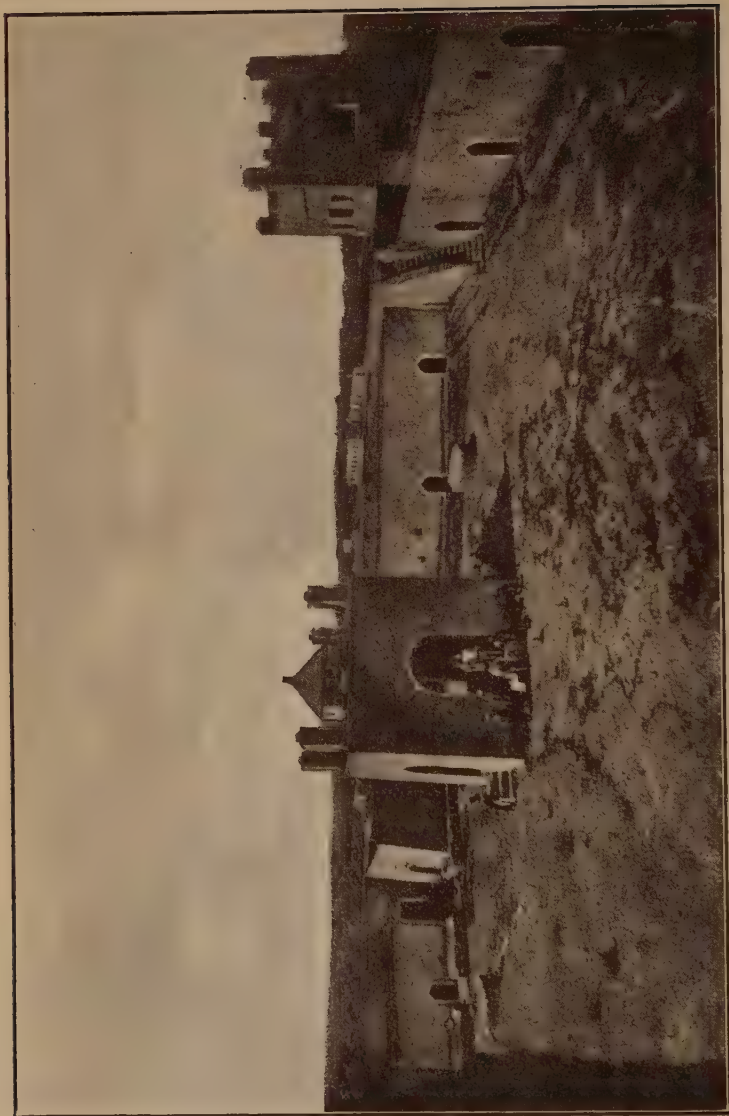
Such an Office must be in London; for (1) London is our true centre, most directly accessible to all; (2) the Bishop and many clergy and laity are in England during the summer, when the work of the expiring year has to be wound up, and that for the coming year to be arranged; (3) the increasing demand for clergy who must be drawn from England makes an inquiry and information office anywhere else impossible.

This need has been foreseen for some time. As early as 1906 Bishop Collins announced the need of a commission to consider and report on (1) the proper keeping of Church Registers and (2) the scheduling and preservation of Records of Chaplaincies.* But nothing was done. On his death it was proposed by Canon A. T. Barnett, whose long service in the Diocese and close association with Bishops Sandford and Collins enabled him to gauge the work of the Bishopric, that the Diocesan memorial to the Bishop should take the form of the establishment of a Registry and Office. The lack of general recognition of the need, and the fear that such a memorial would not be attractive, caused his far-sighted suggestion to be laid by. But the matter soon enforced wider attention. In 1913 an appeal was issued which brought in about £1000, and a scheme for assessing Chaplaincies and Diocesan Funds and raising the required income in other ways was drawn up; but the outbreak of the war postponed action. It is confidently hoped that the advent of peace will see the establishment of the Office realized, and so a fixed centre provided for all the "business work" of the Diocese, which now—whatever was the case before 1903—is far beyond the power and the function of the Bishop.

It is estimated that the cost will be about £400-£450 a year. It is much to be desired that the bulk of this should be provided by an endowment, and that it should not be a standing charge on the resources of the Chaplaincies, Diocesan Funds, and the Bishop.

(h) **Formation of a Diocesan Council.**—One further task, relating to internal organization, remains to be men-

* *A.C.M.*, 1907, Jan., p. xvi.



'The old order changeth, giving place to new'

THE TEMPLE, COURT, AND CELLS OF FIRE-WORSHIPPERS, BAKU

ABOVE EVERY CELL-DOOR IS A STONE, BEARING INSCRIPTION EACH IN A DIFFERENT EASTERN LANGUAGE

tioned : the formation and recognition of a Diocesan Council. Until this is attained, it will be impossible for the Diocese to pursue a fixed policy, and too much will depend on the Bishop for the time being, and be left to him. At present there is no guarantee that a Bishop's policy will command the approval and support of the whole Diocese ; and so much labour may be wasted and continuity be lost. Moreover, a Bishop of Gibraltar necessarily very rapidly acquires a general knowledge of the needs and conditions of the Diocese as a whole which no one else in it can possess ; and this lays on him a responsibility for action which is too great for him alone to bear, and may tend to give an undue weight to his wishes and plans. A body is needed to whom he can impart his knowledge for use in common and for transmission.

In the working of the Gibraltar Mission to Seamen and the Fund for Aiding Poorer Chaplaincies such bodies have been formed for particular ends, and are really effective. These bodies should be subordinate to the Diocesan Council, which with the Bishop should survey and direct the life and work of the Diocese as a whole. It should be really representative of the Diocese and its operations, and yet not too large to meet regularly and not only annually, and that in full force ; and with it the Bishop should be able to act as Bishop-in-Council. The working of the Diocese will not be satisfactory until this task, one of peculiar difficulty for us owing to the distances which separate us, is accomplished. That there is the material for it, none who know our permanent clergy and laity can doubt. In the formation of its personnel the Diocesan Conference, meeting quinquennially or perhaps triennially, should have a part. It is impossible to contemplate a more frequent meeting of the Conference, at least on the scale on which it met in 1894 and 1905.

CHAPTER XV

THE DIOCESE UNDER THE EUROPEAN WAR, 1914—1917

THE great war broke on us on August 4, 1914. Though the actual outbreak came as a surprise, the war itself was none to the British in South Europe. I remember well the apprehension of our colonies, the growing discernment of the purposes of Germany during the years 1911-1914, and the often-expressed amazement at the blindness and incredulity which prevailed in England as to the intention of that Power.

It broke on us at a time of the year when our communities are depleted and many altogether dispersed. Many clergy were in England. Some were on the very point of starting for chaplaincies in summer resorts. The Bishop was in England after his third Visitation tour in which he had been able happily to visit congregations in Portugal, Spain, North Africa, the Riviera, Italy, Austria, South Russia, and the Caucasus ; and having taken part in the deliberations of the Consultative Body of the Lambeth Conference which had been engaged chiefly with anxieties arising out of the Kikuyu question, was preparing to make plans for the following winter.

But the war arrested all the schemes for establishing the long-needed Diocesan Office and Registry, and for providing itinerating chaplaincies in Spain, Roumania, and Russia ; the building of the new Institute at Nicolaieff, and the developing of that at Valencia ; the rebuilding of the church at Monte Carlo. It retarded, but did not stop, the building of the new Holy Trinity Church at Rome and of that at Bucarest.

Each fresh entry of a European people into the war has affected colonies of our diocese. While in North and Central

Europe the neutrals of August, 1914—Norway, Sweden, Holland, Denmark, and Switzerland—have since maintained their neutrality, in South Europe Turkey, Italy, Bulgaria, Portugal, Roumania have in succession become involved, while the troubles in Greece have entailed on our people there consequences scarcely less trying than those of actual war. The result is that in the autumn of 1917 the only colonies of the Diocese not in a country engaged in the war are those in Spain, Tangier, and Greece. Further, the hostility of Bulgaria and Turkey and the enemy's occupation of Serbia and Roumania drove southward a wedge which cut off our Russian congregations from those of the western portion of the Diocese. When these two great facts are borne in mind, it will be seen how terribly our Diocese as a system has suffered.

The first chaplaincy to feel the stroke of the war was that at Trieste, with its closely connected communities at Fiume and Monfalcone. The Austrians took possession of our fine Seamen's Institute at Trieste; the men of military age were interned, and their families through difficulty and distress made their way to England; the chaplain, the Rev. E. de B. Saunderson, was not allowed to leave Austria until he had been frequently arrested and interned for some time. Fortunately all British interests found in the American Consul, Mr. R. Busser, a zealous friend and protector, until the United States entered the war in April, 1917.

On Nov. 1, 1914, Turkey joined our enemies. This affected our chaplaincies and large colonies in Constantinople with Moda, and Smyrna with Bournabat and Boudjah. In August the chaplain of the Crimean Memorial Church was in England, and Dr. Wigram was acting as his *locum tenens*. Though under no formal obligation to do so, for he had not the Bishop's licence, he remained to minister, and Mr. Borough was unable to proceed beyond Syra in his attempt to return. Dr. Wigram's act of heroism later, when he voluntarily took the place of a married man among the twenty-five British whom, with an equal number of French, the Turks sent to the Dardanelles to be placed in the front of their lines, deserves this all too brief record. The barbarous act was

happily averted, but this does not lessen the self-sacrifice of Dr. Wigram. The chaplain of Moda, the Rev. E. L. Day, with wife and child, returned to his church in the last boat that passed up the Dardanelles. Before the British Ambassador, Sir Louis Mallet, left Constantinople on Nov. 1, a large number of our women and children, and a good percentage of young men returning to England to enlist, had left the city, and the bulk of the colony succeeded in effecting their exit within a few days afterwards; and thus the large community sank to one of less than a hundred. From Smyrna exit being by sea only was much more difficult, and a very large number of British subjects are in consequence still there, with two chaplains, the Revs. W. H. Brett and R. P. Ashe. All alike are undergoing real privations, but the services of the Church have been maintained; and the governor of the city has distinguished himself by his considerateness. Needless to say, the Seamen's Institute at Smyrna is suppressed.

Further east, immediate frontier hostilities, before the enemy were driven back from Skarykamish, involved the abandonment of the great copper mine and its works at Chingathevi and the dispersal of our large Anglo-American colony there. The closing of the Caucasian railway to civilians isolated some of our other colonies, and made the annual tour of the chaplain at Baku, the Rev. T. Linton, impossible in 1915. The Caucasian communities were therefore without ministrations for two years. Mr. Linton was able to visit them in 1916; and in the winter of 1916-17 he accompanied as chaplain a British armoured car force to the Russian Caucasian front. With the closing of the Dardanelles the Seamen's Institutes at Sulina and Odessa were reduced to inactivity; and our people in Roumania left with only the door into Russia open to them.

On May 23, 1915, Italy joined the Allies. This accession to our cause touched at once many communities of different types. It reduced by steadily increasing pressure all non-mercantile communities in Italy and Sicily, while laying serious burdens on the great settled mercantile chaplaincies. That at Venice, now within the war-zone, was in particular depleted; and later the loss of the chaplain on his appointment

to work in England, was severely felt. To the services rendered by the Institutes of the G.M.S. in Italy reference will be made within a few pages.

Portugal declared war on March 9, 1916. The effect was felt by our large colonies at Lisbon and Oporto, from whence a considerable number of men had returned to England to serve, chiefly in increased cost of living, scarcity of labour, and loss of commercial staffs.

Although Bulgaria's entry into the war in October, 1915, did not directly affect any community of the Diocese, it contributed much eventually to the suffering of our Roumanian colonies in the next year.

The third year of the war brought fresh trouble on our Eastern communities. Roumania declared war on Austria on August 27, 1916, and on December 6 the enemy occupied Bucarest. The British in the oil-fields and other industries, at Bucarest and in the Danubian ports withdrew, many of them with great difficulty and through much suffering. The chaplain, the Rev. J. H. Adeney, who was also in charge of the L.J.S. work, was in England for a long over-due furlough, the Rev. H. E. Cullis being left on duty. Mr. Cullis earned the gratitude of all by his unselfish efforts to assist our people to leave Bucarest on Sunday, December 4; but remained there himself. The new church had by the untiring energy of Mr. Adeney been completed sufficiently to be used for service; but how it has fared, and also the little Church and the Institute at Sulina, is not yet known. None of our communities have passed through more grievous trials than that in Roumania. Meanwhile the position in Greece became critical. The chaplain at Athens was able to hold service in the church on December 31, but on January 6, 1917, he, together with the bulk of our civil community, left the city under official advice.

The declaration of war by the United States on April 10, 1917, affected us in two ways. On one hand, it must tend to draw together even more closely than before the English and Americans in South Europe; on the other, it deprived us of the protection and services of the American consulates in hostile countries. Those who know our debt to (*e.g.*) the

American embassies at Berlin and Vienna, to Mr. R. Busser at Trieste, and Mr. Horton at Smyrna can realize what this means to us.

Lastly, the revolution in Russia in the early summer of 1917 increased the anxieties, already great, of our Russian colonies. All had suffered much, and were considerably reduced in numbers, and the ever-growing gravity of the outlook seems to throw their recovery into a far future.

But apart from the blows which have fallen thus successively on particular communities, the severity of the present (1917) strain on the Diocese can be appreciated only by the reader who remembers how widely spread our chaplaincies are, the nature of our congregations in the Riviera and in Italy, the considerable dependence of the general work of the Diocese, especially of the Gibraltar Mission to Seamen, on financial support regularly given by them since 1882, and the still imperfect diocesan coherence and co-operation. Some idea of it may be gathered from the following facts. So great is the depletion of congregations, and the difficulty of obtaining clergy (owing to the demands made on the body of the clergy for service in H.M. Forces, the cessation of ordination save of men disqualified for service, the impossibility of providing remuneration, and restraints placed on travel) that whereas at Easter, 1914, we had 105 clergy at work, at Easter, 1917, we had only 40. During the winter of 1916-1917 there were no chaplains serving the churches at Costebelle, St. Raphael, St. Paul's, Holy Trinity and St. George's Cannes, Cap d'Antibes, Monte Carlo, Beaulieu, St. John's San Remo, Pegli, Milan, Baveno, Cadenabbia, Bellagio, Stresa, Venice, Capri, Marsala, Taormina, Corfu, Patras, Tangier—22 in all, or our chapels or season chaplaincies at Menaggio, Levanto, and eight other places at which ordinarily there are considerable congregations of visitors and residents. At Cannes and San Remo one church and chaplain met all needs. At some few of the chaplaincies mentioned, and elsewhere, occasional ministrations for the congregations left were provided by the zealous help of our clergy—the Dean of Gibraltar, Canons D'Albertanson (Oporto)

and Skeggs (Palermo), the Revs. J. Crawford (Bilbao), E. H. Burt (Genoa), P. G. Howes (Livorno), A. C. Read (Florence), H. C. Muriel (Bordighera) and Archdeacon Sissons (Rome), and in particular of the Rev. G. B. Stone-Alcock. In other places, devoted and staunch laymen, chiefly licensed Lay Readers, conducted service regularly to the great blessing of our people and the honour of the Church of England; as Mr. G. F. Moore at Tangier, Mr. W. P. Churchward at Milan, Mr. H. E. Swan at Venice, Mr. F. B. Wood at Patras, Mr. P. Frost at Perugia, Mr. A. Rayner at Savona, Mr. A. J. Youngman at Elizabetgrad, Mr. Ridgway at Cartagena, Mr. A. Romer at Linares, Mr. Haselden at El Centenillo, while at Smyrna Mr. H. O. Whittall, and at Cannes Mr. Taylor, rendered assistance in this way. Elsewhere, in scattered and more remote communities, ministrations, always rare, have been perforce even rarer, or have been altogether impossible. No fewer than fourteen vacancies in the ranks of our permanent chaplains have occurred since August, 1914, to only two of which has it been possible or advisable to make appointments.

It will be understood that the maintenance of the stipend of the clergy left to us, and of the churches, has been far from easy. It must be remembered that only in two or three cases have we any endowments, and the clergy are entirely dependent on the congregation of the time being; and that not only have expenses of maintaining and heating churches greatly increased, but that rates and taxes have to be paid on them, from which churches in England are free. But the generosity of the congregations in this matter has been almost uniformly beyond all praise, and the Easter Offerings have shown how greatly the steadfast and cheerful services of the clergy have been valued. It is difficult to see how several chaplaincies and churches could have been maintained had it not been for the Fund for Aiding Poorer Chaplaincies, the need and worth of which was indeed demonstrated afresh. The help of S.P.G. and C.C.C.S. given to certain chaplaincies connected with those Societies requires here grateful acknowledgment.

No part of diocesan work has been more heavily pressed

than that of the G.M.S. As has been said already, we lost the Institutes at Trieste and Fiume at the opening of the war, that at Smyrna when Turkey entered it, and that at Sulina when Roumania was occupied by the enemy. It has been necessary to close those at Catania and Piraeus. That at Odessa is cut off from all shipping, and the departure of the Rev. K. M. Grant from Cartagena to serve in the navy left the infant institute there without its chaplain. But if these are out of action for a while, the course of the war, the development of the submarine warfare, and in particular the "unrestricted" submarine policy of the enemy has increased beyond words the work of others, especially of those at Marseilles, Savona, Genoa, Venice, and Palermo. The regulations of the censorship forbid any attempt to describe now in detail the notable services rendered by the institutes of the G.M.S., the managers and their wives, the chaplains and the local committees to officers and crews of the mercantile marine, and of cruisers, transports, torpedo-boats, submarines, destroyers, drifters, and mine-sweepers, and in particular to crews of vessels sunk by the enemy, and also to units of the R.A.M.C. and other branches of H.M. Forces; but it is to be hoped that hereafter some just record may be made. Financially, the principle traditionally pursued of never anticipating income stood the G.M.S. in good stead, enabling it to stand in the autumn of 1914 with a serviceable balance; and although the receipts from subscriptions and collections fell by 56 per cent. in 1914-1915, and by nearly 50 per cent. in 1915-1916, no public appeal in England was deemed necessary until the summer of 1916. That the strain on the working and the fall in income was not greater was due to the steady support of the port communities, the generosity of the remnants of our Riviera congregations and of many members of them now in England, while the prescient beneficence of Mr. Lowe provided a stable if small endowment. In the autumn of 1916, however, the increasing need at Marseilles and Venice made such an appeal inevitable, and largely owing to the energy of Miss Hill (of Taormina) nearly £1600 was collected. During the following winter the Missions to Seamen came to our rescue at Marseilles

with both money and workers, and is still assisting us by maintaining a chaplain for seamen there. We venture to hope that the new King George's Fund for Sailors will assist in maintaining and developing the work of the G.M.S. in future.

Another branch of the work of the Church in the Diocese, though to a very slight degree diocesan, that has suffered severely, is that of the L.J.S. At Bucarest and Constantinople, where very large schools were conducted, and at Smyrna, it is either completely suppressed or grievously dislocated. The devotion and wholeheartedness of the staffs of the Society at these large stations must command the respect and admiration of all Churchmen, and the deepest sympathy must be felt for them. The work at Tunis happily continues.

Lastly, the usual peculiar difficulties of administration caused by the want of a real centre and of a Diocesan Office, have become apparent in an intenser form during the war. The general dislocation kept the Bishop in England—for if there be a centre, it is London—during the winter of 1914-1915, and during that of 1916-1917, in which he was detained at home by continuous ill-health, the work of general administration, efforts to secure clergy, the raising and management of funds, proved a heavy and constant tax. Under conditions of a European war, without a central office and permanent secretary, it must ever be most difficult for any Bishop of Gibraltar to meet without delay the incessant fresh calls for administrative action and at the same time to fulfil his duty of pastoral visitation.

But if the war has brought much strain, suffering, and dislocation on us—greater, it may be believed, than that which has fallen on any other Diocese of our Church, save perhaps on those of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, and of the Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, it has brought a revelation of the Diocese and a testing of such organization as we have attained in which there is real ground for thankfulness, and which also should serve to guide diocesan policy in the future.

It brought out afresh the distinctness of the three chief

constituent elements of the Jurisdiction—the mercantile communities, the “health, art, and recreation congregations” of the Riviera and Italy, and the seamen. The first of these, having settled homes and businesses, reassembled after August, 1914, for the most part in full force, though with difficulty, to carry on their multifarious vocations. They were so many fixed outposts of British trade, and the interests of the Empire demanded that they should be maintained. It was thus made clear that they form the stable basis of the Diocese, as, indeed, they were the elements of which it was made in 1842. Of the second, almost entirely in England in August, 1914, few except those who had real homes in the Jurisdiction, or have been absolutely compelled by reasons of health to do so, have returned; the usual winter communities shrank to a shadow of themselves, and many entirely vanished. The seamen remained with us, but as incorporated in the naval forces of the Crown.

The war revealed the resources and the spirit of all three elements of the Diocese in different ways. The British seamen are to-day the wonder of the world. No British homes gave their sons more promptly and generously to the service of the Empire than those of our Diocese, from Oporto to Baku, both because they were in a position to realize at once, far more than most at home, what was involved in the great struggle, but also in proud and single-hearted patriotism. Herein they awakened the incredulous surprise and the admiration of those who knew only military service under compulsion. Our homes, especially in the mercantile communities, equally with those of the whole Empire, have been called on to mourn noble boys fallen—witness Oporto, Lisbon, Jerez, Barcelona, Costebelle, Naples, Palermo, Tangier, Constantinople, Odessa, Elizabetgrad. Gifts to various relief funds, such as those of the Red Cross, the Prince of Wales' Fund, Soldiers' Comforts Fund, both for our own forces and those of our Allies, have been on a scale of amazing generosity. Our ladies have devoted themselves to the ministrations of mercy in hospitals and workrooms as only Englishwomen can. Of all this patriotism it would be out of place here to attempt details. But it has been an

indication of the latent power of the Diocese, to be hereafter directed to the work of the Church, if its blessedness can be known and felt.

The war has brought also a revelation of the quiet strength and faithfulness of the clergy, of the managers of the Institutes and their wives; of the loyalty of churchwardens and church committees; of the attachment of congregations to their churches. It has tested the strength and spirit of all work for seamen, and shown the hold which that work has on the hearts of all our people. It has shown, too, the great importance of our small body of licensed Lay Readers, and the great need of enlisting many more to serve in that capacity in future. And it proved the worth of the Gibraltar Diocesan Trust, which through these troubled years has held securely and administered nearly £30,000 of diocesan funds, recovering the income tax, making investments, and paying the income with perfect regularity. The Trust has not only justified itself, but has contributed greatly to the steadiness of much diocesan work; and it will be strange if local church authorities do not in future avail themselves more of its trusteeship.

But the war has shown also certain weaknesses in a way that should dictate action in days to come. Enough has been said of the proof it has afforded of the urgent need of a Diocesan Office. While it showed the great worth of the Poorer Chaplaincies Aid Fund as a reserve Fund for shore chaplaincies and churches, it brought out also the inadequacy of the support it has hitherto received. And the war has strikingly brought to light the shortsightedness of chaplaincies which in earlier and often affluent days thought only of the current year, and made no provision in the way of Church Maintenance Funds or Reserve Funds or Endowments which could with ease have been gradually formed, and which would have been of inestimable service in the present upheaval. In a Jurisdiction so wide-spread the need for such reserve resources will be constantly felt through vicissitudes of trade, shrinkage of numbers, war, famine, epidemic or earthquake; and the inauguration of them ought to form a part of the policy to be pursued

throughout the whole Diocese directly the reorganization of our chaplaincies is possible. Finally, the war has shown convincingly—if it needed showing—the benefit of diocesan corporate coherence and action. The suffering and dislocation would have been infinitely greater had we not had the G.M.S., the P.C. Aid Fund, and the Trust. But after seventy-five years of life as a Diocese, we ought to have been much stronger, and to have had more corporate resources to apply to hard-pressed points. The Bishop ought to have been much more free; and the many small scattered communities ought not to have been left without the support and comfort of their Church for months and even years together at the very time when need was sorest.

It was not anticipated when the collection of material for this sketch was begun, that before its completion the storm of the war would have broken over Europe. It may seem that the present is an unsuitable moment for publishing it. But when this tyranny is overpast in the mercy of God we shall be without many who would have preserved our experience and traditions, and a very large proportion of our clergy and of those to whom they will minister will be new-comers among us. Under the inevitable press of re-organization it will be impossible to find time to put it forth. Therefore it is issued now, that those who will then enter the life and work of the Diocese for the first time may be able to know something of our history and tasks, and adjust themselves to both conditions and outlook as a whole. And it is hoped that through it and its story the sympathy and aid of the home Church may be enlisted in our restoration of so much that was laboriously built up to a degree that the Diocese has not previously enjoyed.

Imperfect as it is, it is hoped too that the sketch may be of real service to Church people. It will at least do something to impress on those at home the fact that there are their own countrymen and countrywomen living under conditions of colonial life in Europe itself, and as representatives

to European nations of our national faith, worship, morals, homes, and trade in a peculiar degree; and that as they cannot play their part in the life of the nation and the Church aright without the life of grace, they have a real claim on the concern of those at home. To too many all thought of the Diocese of Gibraltar has been limited to the congregations of the Riviera and of Italy; and if this utterly inadequate idea can be dispelled in some measure by these pages, they will not be in vain.

It will serve further as a warning and guide in more directions than one as regards our Church's care of colonial Dioceses. It is too often imagined that all that is required is the establishment of a Bishopric. But a Diocese demands the fostering support of the Church during infancy, until it attains maturity—support in the way of both supply of clergy and funds, and of the shaping and guidance provided by Provincial life. Membership in a Province this Diocese has never enjoyed. Its peculiar character effectually excludes the hope that it will be able to provide its own clergy; and want of funds in its early days forced it, unconsciously, to rely on the support of the State and of Societies in a way that has proved to have actually retarded growth to maturity and sense of responsibility. The lesson is one to be taken to heart. This sketch may be a warning, too, to the Church of England to be early in the field in giving our colonists the blessings of the full life and ministry of the Church and of a diocese. It shows how negligence in this respect developed a spirit of congregational individualism and (to use Bishop Sandford's word) self-centredness, from which we are not yet wholly free, which grievously limits the horizon of outlook, and makes the succouring of the weak a duty all too slowly and painfully done. And again, our history furnishes a study in the true nature and functions of the great Societies of our Church, through which the generosity and devotion of so many at home find scope and expression. In an episcopal church these Societies serve the life of the Church aright when they are reservoirs and channels of resources; and such resources are rightly directed when they aim solely and directly towards building up the life of

dioceses, and that in such a way as to hasten the day when a diocese can be independent of them. The application of such resources with the view of controlling in any way liberties which the Church of England gives to her people and clergy, or of assuming the responsibility which belongs to a diocese or any part of it, or of creating an obligation which shall be the ground of a claim of an "outside hand" to exercise influence in ways inconsistent with principles of the Church of England, inevitably brings in the long run friction and resentment, to say nothing of damage done to diocesan growth and effectiveness. It is necessary to be on our guard against evils wrought by beneficent Societies, in spite of noble aims, in other great Churches.

On another side, it is hoped that this sketch may bring home to some a sense of the wide difference in the relations in which our Church stands at present to the two other great Communion; of the need of inexhaustible patience and faithfulness to our catholic heritage; and of caution lest in order to grasp immediate advantage in one direction we compromise in another our own catholic position, and throw the great hope of the reunion of Christendom even further into the future than it is at present. If the desire for reunion at home makes this caution necessary and perhaps distressing to many in England, it renders our attitude in the Diocese of Gibraltar towards local movements of reform, especially within the Latin Churches, a matter of peculiar gravity and frequently of painful perplexity; and as hasty action at home may involve us in real difficulty as a Diocese of the Church, so rashness on our part may, from our unique position, seriously impair the welfare of the whole Church of Christ, and the place and serviceableness of the Church of England therein.

Finally, these pages which tell of the spiritual isolation and destitution of many of the sons and daughters of the Church of England, living within a few days' journey of their native land, may quicken at home a sense of thankfulness for blessings enjoyed—of an ample (frequently too ample) ministry; of the lavish provision of churches and means of grace—so lavish that none can say they are adequately

used ; of opportunities of instruction and progress in knowledge of God ; of education of children in the faith and hope of our fathers ; of the generous foresight of forefathers. Such blessings are so familiar that their greatness is too often forgotten, until men and women learn it by loss, by hunger and thirst for them. And it is hoped that this sense may move many to succour the Diocese of Gibraltar, both in this day of sore need and also when we can begin to rebuild our fallen walls, and try once more to feed better than in past decades our own scattered sheep of the flock of Christ between the Atlantic and the Caspian.

CHAPLAINCIES OF THE DIOCESE OF GIBRALTAR, 1914.

Chaplaincy. Permanent chaplaincies in capitals, season and monthly in <i>italics</i> . (P) = Parsonage.	Patron, or Society supplying Chaplain under Bishop's sanction.	Church or Place of Divine Worship. (c) = consecrated; (d) = dedicated and licensed.	Date of Consecration or Dedication.
Gibraltar	Bishop	Cathedral (c) ...	Oct. 17, 1838.*
Malta.			
VALLETTA	Bishop	St. Paul's Cath. Ch. (c) ...	All SS., 1844.
SLEIMA	Bishop	H. Trinity Ch. (c) ...	Easter Tu., 1867.
Africa.			
ALGIERS (P)	Bishop	H. Trinity Ch. (c) ...	Nov. 14, 1909.
<i>Biskra</i>	S.P.G.	Cercle civil ...	—
<i>Hammam R' Irha</i>	S.P.G.	Gd. Hotel ...	—
<i>Tangier</i>	Ch. Committee	St. Andrew's Ch. (c)... ..	Dec. 3, 1905.
TUNIS	Bishop	St. George's Ch. ...	—
Austro-Hungary.			
TRIESTE	Bishop	Christ Ch. (c) ...	Aug., 1864.
(with MONFALCONE and Fiume)	—	Sailors' Home... ..	—
France.			
<i>Antibes, Cap d'Antibes and Juan les Pins</i>	Bishop	All SS., Cap d'Antibes (d) ...	Feb. 10, 1914.
<i>Beaulieu</i>	S.P.G.	St. Michael's Ch. (c) ...	Dec. 17, 1903.
<i>Bormes les Mimosas</i>	S.P.G.	—	—
CANNES:			
(1) CHRIST CHURCH	Soc. Civile	Christ Ch. (P c) ...	Dec. 27, 1855.†
(2) H. TRINITY	C.C.C.S.	H. Trinity Ch. ...	—
(3) ST. GEORGE'S (P)	H.M. The King	St. George's Ch. (c) ...	Feb. 12, 1887.
(4) ST. PAUL'S	S.P.G.	St. Paul's Ch. ...	"Inaugurated" Nov. 6, 1869.
<i>Corsica-Ajaccio</i>	C.C.C.S.	H. Trinity Ch. ...	—
COSTEBELLE	Bishop	All SS. Ch. ...	—
GRASSE	S.P.G.	St. John's Ch. (c) ...	May 1, 1892.

France (continued).

HYÈRES ...	...	...	...	...	St. Paul's Ch. (c)	...	...	Feb. 6, 1884.
MARSEILLES (P) ...	...	...	...	...	All SS. Ch. (c)	...	...	Oct. 26, 1902.
MENTONE:	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	—
(1) ST. JOHN'S (P)	...	...	...	...	St. John Ev. Ch.	...	...	—
(2) CHRIST CH. (P)	...	...	...	...	Christ Church...	...	...	(Rebuilding, 1914).
Monte Carlo	...	...	...	...	St. Cyprian's Ch.	...	...	Dec. 22, 1862.
NICE (P) ...	...	...	...	...	H. Trinity Ch. (c)	...	...	—
CARABACEL	...	...	...	...	Christ Church...	...	...	Feb. 2, 1907.
St. Raphael	...	...	...	...	St. John Ev. Ch. (c)	...	...	—
Tamaris...	...	...	...	...	—	...	...	—
Valescure	...	...	...	...	All SS. Ch. ...	...	...	—
Vence ...	...	...	...	...	Church Cottage	...	...	—

Greece.

ATHENS and PIREUS	...	...	...	...	St. Paul's Ch. (c)	...	...	Palm ~~S.~~ , 1843.
Corfu ...	...	...	...	...	H. Trinity Ch. (c)	...	...	Oct. 2, 1870.
Patras (and Zante)	...	...	...	...	St. Andrew's Ch. (c)...	...	...	May, 1874.

Italy.

ALASSIO (P) ...	...	...	...	...	St. John's Ch. (c)	...	...	April, 4, 1883.
Bagni di Lucca (P)	...	...	...	...	English Chapel (? c)...	...	...	† 1846.
Baveno ...	...	...	...	...	Evangelists' Ch.	...	...	—
Bellagio ...	...	...	...	...	St. James' Ch. (c)	...	...	May 20, 1888.
Bologna ...	...	...	...	...	Chapel; H. Brun	...	...	—
BORDIGHERA (P)	...	...	...	...	All SS. Ch. (c)	...	...	Nov. 1, 1833.
Cadenabbia...	...	...	...	...	Ch. of the Ascension (c)	...	...	Sept. 29, 1891.
Capri ...	...	...	...	...	All SS. Ch. (c)	...	...	April 16, 1912.
Courmayeur	...	...	...	...	Chapelle Evangélique	...	...	—
FLORENCE:	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	—
(1) H. TRINITY	...	...	...	...	H. Trinity Ch. (c)	...	...	June 2, 1846.
(2) ST. MARK'S	...	...	...	...	St. Mark's Ch.	...	...	—
GENOA with	...	...	...	...	Ch. of the H. Ghost (c)	...	...	June 4, 1872.
SAVONA ...	...	...	...	...	St. George's Chapel, Seamen's In-	...	...	—
Lanzo d'Intelvi	...	...	...	...	stitute	...	...	—
	...	...	...	...	—	...	...	—
	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	—

* Consecrated by Rev. E. J. Burrow, Civil Chaplain, under the authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

† By Bishop Spencer of Madras. See *Stories of Chaplaincies*, xxvii, *A.C.M.*, Jan., 1911. But the consecration is not beyond question.

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Italy (continued).			
LEGHORN (P)	...	St. George's Ch.	—
<i>Lerici</i>	...	Rezzola, Pogliola	—
<i>Levanto</i>	...	St. Columban's Chapel	—
<i>Menaggio</i>	...	Chapel; H. Victoria...	—
MILAN	...	All SS. Ch. (c)	Oct. 24, 1909.
NAPLES	...	Christ Church (c)	March 11, 1865.
<i>Oneglia</i>	...	Gd. Hotel	—
<i>Orta</i>	...	—	—
<i>Pallanza</i>	...	Gd. Hotel	—
<i>Pegli</i>	...	St. John Ev. Ch (p c)	? 1883.
<i>Perugia</i>	...	Chapel; H. Brufani	—
PISA (P)	...	English Chapel (p c.)	? 1844.
<i>Porto Maurizio</i> with <i>Oneglia</i> , q.v.	...	—	—
RAPALLO	...	St. George's Ch.	—
ROME:	...	—	—
(1) ALL SAINTS	...	All SS. Ch.	"Opened" Easter Day, 1887.
(2) H. TRINITY †	...	H. Trinity Ch.	Rebuilding, 1914.
SAN REMO:	...	—	—
(1) ALL SAINTS (P)	...	All SS. Ch. (c)	Feb. 11, 1884.
(2) ST. JOHN'S	...	St. John B. Ch. (c)	Feb. 21, 1892.
SIENA...	...	St. Peter's Ch.	—
<i>Sorrento</i>	...	Chapel; H. Tramontano	—
<i>Strada</i>	...	Ch. (licensed)	May 4, 1913.
TURIN (with MILAN, q.v.)...	...	Chapel; Gd. Hotel	—
<i>Varazze</i>	...	Ch. of the Holy Redeemer and All SS. (d)	Aug. 8, 1913.
VIAREGGIO (P)	...	Villa d'Este	—
<i>Villa d'Este</i>	...	St. George's Ch. (c)	April 23, 1906.
VENICE	...	—	—
Sicily.	...	Chapel; Seamen's Institute	...
CATANIA	...	—	—

Sicily (continued).

PALERMO (P) ...
Siracusa ...
Taormina ...

Portugal.

LISBON (P) ...
Mont Estoril ...
 OPORTO ...

Roumania.

BUCAREST ...
 SULINA ...

Russia.

ODESSA ...
 HUGHESOVKA (P) ...
 BAKU ...

Spain.

Algeciras ...
 BARCELONA ...
 BILBAO ...
 CARTAGENA ...
 HUELVA ...
 MADRID ...
Malaga ...
Seville ...

Turkey and Asia Minor.

CONSTANTINOPLE:
 (1) BRITISH EMBASSY ...

(2) PERA ...
 (3) MODA or KADIKU ...
 SMYRNA (P) ...
 BOUDJAH ...
 BOURNABAT ...

Joshua Whitaker, Esq.	...	Ch. of the Holy Cross	...	—
Bishop	...	H. Villa Politi	...	—
Lady Hill	...	Chapel; Sta Catarina	...	—
Congregation	...	St. George's Ch. (c)	...	March 17, 1889.
C.C.C.S.	...	Gd. H. d'Italie	...	—
Congregation	...	St. James' Ch. (c)	...	Aug. 20, 1843.
Bishop	...	(Ch. building 1914)	...	—
Bishop	...	H. Trinity Ch. (c)	...	June 14, 1871
Bishop	...	English Church	...	—
New Russia Co.	...	Ch. of St. David and St. George	...	—
Bishop	...	English Chapel	...	—
Sir A. Henderson	...	H. Reina Cristina	...	—
C.C.C.S.	...	St. George's Ch. (c)	...	May 7, 1905.
C.C.C.S.	...	English Ch., Portugalete	...	—
Bishop	...	Church Room...	...	—
Rio Tinto Co.	...	English Chapel	...	—
H.B.M. Sec. for For. Affairs	...	B. Embassy Chapel	...	—
Bishop and Congregation	...	English Church	...	—
C.C.C.S.	...	Church of the Ascension	...	—
H.B.M. Sec. for For. Affairs	...	B. Embassy Chapel, and	...	April 25, 1884.
S.P.G.	...	Therapia Emb. Chapel (c)	...	Oct. 22, 1868.
Congregation	...	Crimean Memorial Ch. (c)	...	April 18, 1902.
Congregation	...	All SS. Ch. (c)	...	April 7, 1902.
Congregation	...	St. John's Ch. (c)	...	Nov., 1868.
Whitall family	...	All SS. Ch. (c)	...	May 16, 1864.
	...	St. M. Magd. Ch. (c)...	...	

† An annual chaplaincy.

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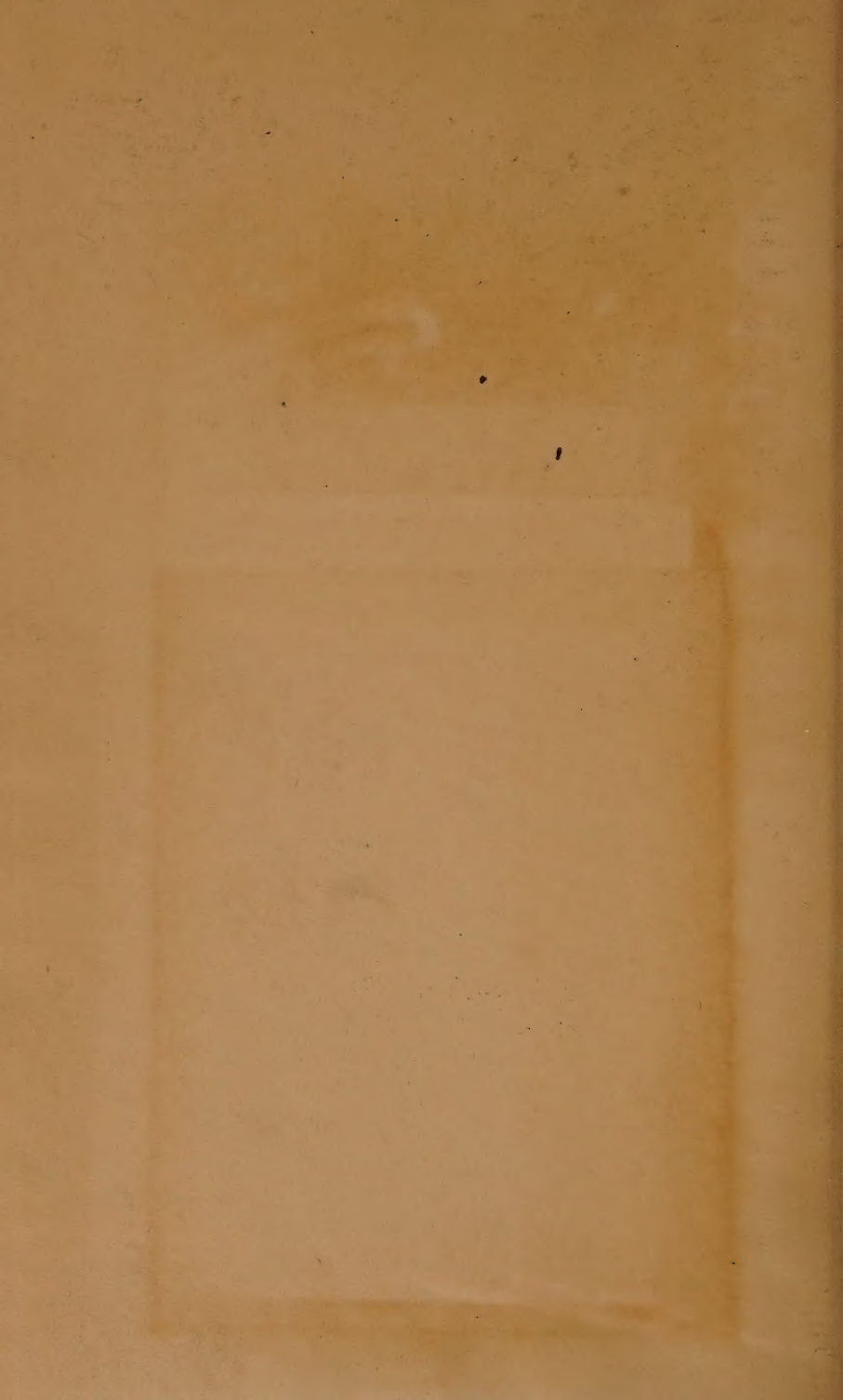
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